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LINCOLN'S

Parentage & Childhood

WEINMAN'S LINCOLN, HODGENVILLE, KENTUCKY

LINCOLN'S
Parentage & Childhood

A history of the Kentucky LINCOLNS
supported by documentary evidence

BY

LOUIS AUSTIN WARREN

Illustrated

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TO MY DAUGHTER

ELEANOR

BORN IN

HODGENVILLE, KENTUCKY

The Cradle of Lincoln

PREFACE

In the spring of the year 1919 I became editor of the "Larue County Herald," published at Hodgenville, Kentucky, the "cradle of Lincoln." The files of the paper made available at this time exhibited many interesting specimens of folklore relative to the Lincoln and Hanks families. Because of the serious discrepancy appearing in this folklore its historical value was reduced to nil. After reviewing many biographies of Abraham Lincoln I became convinced that Lincolniana did not present its authority for most of its findings about the Kentucky history of the Lincolns. Such questions as those of Lincoln's paternity, his birth place, his childhood environment, were dependent entirely on the memories of old citizens.

Through a desire to know the facts about some of these much discussed problems, I resolved to search the public records for data that would supply a documentary source. My removal to Elizabethtown, Kentucky, in 1921 gave me access to the archives of the Hardin County Court-house. This was a sufficient incentive to encourage the research contemplated at Hodgenville. My investigation here, covering a period of two years, revealed a wealth of unpublished documentary evidence bearing on the Lincoln and Hanks families. Opportunity to make the same type of research in more than thirty other Kentucky counties was presented. The results were so gratifying that it was

thought best to allow the public to share in these discoveries.

Less than a dozen duly authorized public documents referring to the Lincoln and Hanks families in Kentucky were available at the beginning of this effort. I have been able to gather during the past six years 550 court entries bearing the name of either Lincoln or Hanks. Aside from these records that give direct contact with the Lincoln and Hanks families in Kentucky, 1000 other documents have been compiled which submit information about the environment in which the Lincolns moved, or record the activities of the cognate families. Supplementing these extracts from legal papers, a vast amount of material has come to hand consisting of military certificates, tombstone inscriptions, church and school record books, personal papers, and the like.

This investigation began with no thought of preparing a public discussion. It was of little consequence what the research would reveal, as there was no theory to prove or tradition to verify. I was born in the North, but seven years of academic work in the South gave me a sympathetic approach toward Southern problems. Sectional feeling having been reduced to the minimum, I can affirm that there has been no attempt to color or obscure any of the source material on which this discussion is based.

On account of the character of this work I am under most obligation to the county and circuit clerks serving in the following county court-houses of Kentucky from 1919 to 1925 inclusive: Anderson, Bourbon, Breckenridge, Bullitt, Caldwell, Christian, Clark, Fayette, Franklin, Grayson, Green, Hardin, Harrison, Hart, Henderson,

Hopkins, Jefferson, Larue, Lincoln, Mercer, Nelson, Scott, Shelby, Union, Washington, Webster, and Woodford.

Custodians of historical collections have rendered every courtesy and made the task much lighter by their valuable assistance. Special favors have been granted by Mrs. Jouett Taylor Cannon and her assistants of the Kentucky State Historical Society. The Durrett Collection in the University of Chicago and the Draper Collection in the University of Wisconsin were made available by the efficient corps of secretaries in charge.

Among the individuals who have assisted me and to whom I am greatly indebted are: Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, president of the Illinois State Historical Society; Dr. William E. Barton; R. Ballard Thurston and his secretary, Miss L. J. Kinkead, of the Filson Club, Louisville; Judge Otis Mather of Hodgenville, Kentucky; John Cissell, custodian at the Lincoln National Park; John Nall, owner of the Lincoln Mill Creek Farm; and John Crady, owner of the Lincoln Knob Creek Farm.

This acknowledgment should not close without a word of appreciation for the helpful attitude shown by the citizens of both Hodgenville and Elizabethtown, Kentucky, during my residence at these two places.

L. A. W.

Zionsville, Indiana,
January 1, 1926.

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Part One

INNATE TENDENCIES

LINCOLN'S PARENTAGE AND CHILDHOOD

CHAPTER I

THE LINCOLN ANCESTRY

My grandfather's christian name was "Abraham." He had four brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John, and Thomas. They were born in Pennsylvania and my grandfather and some, if not all, the others in early life removed to Rockingham County, Virginia. There my father named Thomas was born.

LINCOLN'S LETTER TO JOHN CHRISHAM, 1860.

THE story of Abraham Lincoln and his immediate ancestry begins and closes with a tragedy. The setting on that fateful day in May, 1786, near Hughes' Station in the Kentucky country, and the setting on that fateful day in April, 1865, at Ford's Theater in Washington, are subject to contrast rather than comparison. The assassins: one was a savage Indian, the other a well known actor. The victims: one was an obscure pioneer, the other the president of a nation. The pioneer lies in an unmarked and unknown grave, while the whole nation worships at the tomb of the president. The one who suffered martyrdom in attempting to free the land from the clutches of a mighty wilderness was the grandfather

of the other who suffered martyrdom in attempting to free a race from the clutches of a mighty system. The same blood that drove the pioneer to face the dangers of the frontier was inherent in the veins of the president who saved a nation.

The whole world has been told the details of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth president of the United States. The time and place of the massacre of Abraham Lincoln, grandfather of the president, has not been known until this investigation. Any ventures that may have been made as to the date and location of this event have been based upon tradition. We are now able for the first time to present a documentary background for this tragedy, which left a widow and five orphan children to the mercies of the great wilderness.

The Massacre

Biographers have placed the date of Pioneer Lincoln's death as early as 1780 and as late as 1788. The testimony of the president has caused the date 1784 to become most generally accepted as the year of the casualty. Not only has the year 1786 been established as the correct date but the time of year as well has been ascertained. A paper in a suit, Lincoln *vs.* Reed, contested at Bardstown, Kentucky, reveals that "Abraham departed this life in May 1786 without will." [1] This affirmation appears over the signature of Mordecai Lincoln while under oath. Mordecai was the oldest son of Abraham the pioneer.

The place of the massacre is not so easily determined as the date. The following sites are some that have been

sponsored by historians as the probable place of his death: Greer's Station in Bullitt County; Haycraft's Fort in Hardin County; Beech Fork cabin in Washington County; Beargrass Fort in Jefferson County; Lincoln cabin in Mercer County; and Hughes' Station in Jefferson County; all in the territory which is now Kentucky. The last site mentioned, while it has been accepted by the most recent biographers, has had no documentary support.

Two records, both in the Durrett Collection at Chicago University, allow an approach to this question. One is a plat of Hughes' Station made by Colonel Durrett. Under the plat is the following notation:

> Bland W. Ballard states that the station was erected by Morgan Hughes in 1780; that it stood on Long Run in Jefferson County not far from the Baptist Meeting House; that it consisted of eight cabins and four block houses at the corners and that it was a weak fort poorly built. In 1786 a man was killed here by an Indian, while he was coming to the station from his land on Long Run, where he had been putting in a crop. His family resided in the station and soon after his death the widow and children moved to Washington County.[2]

It is an erasure under this notation which allows us to learn that Colonel Durrett thought this man to have been the pioneer Lincoln. The writer with the aid of a very strong reading-glass has been able to make out every word of this footnote, which some one has tried to erase. It is as follows: "Query. Might not this man thus killed have been Abraham Lincoln the grandfather of the President." While this query was probably written by Colonel Durrett during Lincoln's administration, it was evidently erased when he learned that the president under-

stood his grandfather to have been killed in 1784 instead of 1786.

We are now in possession of evidence which affirms that the pioneer was killed by an Indian in crop-planting time of the year 1786, that he owned land on Long Run at this time, and that his widow and orphan children moved to Washington county. One writer, however, concludes that "we still greatly desire some actual record of the residence of Abraham Lincoln in Jefferson County." [3] The other paper in the Durrett Manuscripts, to which we have referred, supplies this evidence. The historian's attention is called to this document for the first time. It has proved to be a valuable source in establishing beyond a doubt the residence of the Lincoln family in Jefferson County at the time of the pioneer's death.

The paper under consideration is a subscription list drawn for the support of General Clark's expedition against the Wabash Indians. The date of the paper is September 6, 1786. The item of special interest records "a gun the property of Widow Lincoln, £8.0.0" [4] Among the names of the other subscribers are: Benj. Huse [Hughes] of the family that built the station, and Blan [Bland] Ballard, who was Colonel Durrett's informant about the massacre. The other names on the petition are those of early residents on Long Run and its tributary streams. Evidence that the Widow Lincoln was living in the Long Run community four months after the death of her husband would be proof sufficient that the family had made its home in the neighborhood.

The fact that Captain George Pomeroy's name appears on the list following the name of Widow Lincoln is very

significant, as he was to be in command of the company. The writer does not intend here to record the flights of his own imagination as it has been ignited by this record. He does, however, wish to submit these questions which the reader may answer for himself: Was the massacre of Abraham Lincoln responsible for the circulation of this subscription? Was not the presence of the young widow with five orphan children a sufficient incentive for action? Is not the date of the subscription timely? Does the presence of Lincoln's neighbors on the petition signify a point of contact between the massacre and the petition? Was the gun contributed by the widow the one with which Mordecai revenged the death of his father? Did the Widow Lincoln witness the departure of the company? Was Abraham Lincoln killed by a Wabash Indian?

When the estate of Abraham Lincoln was appraised in 1789, three guns were listed: One valued at ten shillings, another at fifty-five shillings, and the third at three pounds and ten shillings.[5] The gun that Bersheba contributed to the expedition, however, was valued at eight pounds. The widow was not contributing an old worn-out rifle to the expedition but the best firearm the family owned, worth $38.88.

After walking over the territory which formerly comprised the Long Run farm of the Lincolns; having read the many traditions reporting the massacre; keeping in mind the actual locations of fort, cabin, and probable site of the tragedy; and remembering the president's own story as it came down from his father; the writer ventures an account of the massacre as follows:

Abraham Lincoln, with his three sons, Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas, was busily engaged in the field putting in a crop of corn. Without warning they were attacked by two or three Indians. The father was killed at the first fusillade. Josiah, then thirteen years of age, started for Hughes' Station, half a mile away, where the family was then making their home in one of the fort's eight cabins. Mordecai and Thomas, aged fifteen and ten respectively, made for a cabin near-by, which Abraham had erected and where the family would make their home as soon as safety would allow. An Indian despising the ability of Mordecai's marksmanship stepped out of the thicket to secure the scalp of the paleface. Mordecai from within the cabin took aim at a silver pendant on the breast of the Indian and brought him down. Josiah had reached the fort and warned the settlers, who started in pursuit of the redskins.

When Abraham Lincoln succumbed to the surprise attack of the Indians he was forty-two years of age, just in the prime of life.[6] The bullet which took his life made a widow and five orphan children: the oldest, a boy fifteen years of age; the youngest, a girl but six years old. When we speak of this pioneer Abraham Lincoln and call him the grandfather of the president, we must not associate him with the graybeards. He was a part of the virile young life that gave itself to the dangers of the new country.

The biographers who have slandered the members of this pioneer family, left husbandless and fatherless a thousand miles away from the home community back in

Old Virginia, should return to praise the efforts of the widow of the wilderness and her orphaned group.

As might be expected, the wealth of the family had been put in land. While America through the help of this same Abraham Lincoln and other patriots had gained her independence, she had not at this period freed herself from many antiquated and aristocratic laws of the mother-country. One of these laws worked a great hardship on the widow of Abraham Lincoln and most of the members of the family. Lincoln died intestate, and as the English law of primogeniture was in force, the oldest son Mordecai inherited his father's entire land-holdings.[7]

The Lincoln Estate

The fact that the estate of Abraham Lincoln was administered in Nelson County has caused much confusion among Lincoln biographers and has led many to believe that Abraham Lincoln died in Nelson County. One tradition which has become current of late is to the effect that Abraham did not die immediately upon the attack of the Indians but was wounded and lived a year or so after the injury was inflicted. This tradition is parallel to the one that holds he died in Washington County. At the time the estate was administered in 1789 Washington County was a part of Nelson County, and it was not set off from Nelson County until 1792.

That the Lincoln family moved to Washington County some time after the death of Abraham and before the settlement of the estate we are certain. It is very natural

that legal action should be taken in the county where the family was then residing and where the belongings of the family were then located. We are fortunate in having the items of the estate recorded in the will book at Bardstown.[8] It may be of interest to mention some of the property appraised. The estate included two horses, six head of cattle, bar-spear plow and hoes, pewter plates and dishes, Dutch oven and kettles, adz, saw, augers, drawing and currying knives, three guns, three feather-beds and furniture for each, candlestick, steeking-iron, and ax. The estate was appraised at sixty-eight pounds, sixteen shillings, and sixpence. The appraisers were Peter Sibert, Christopher Barlow, and John Alvey.

The appraisers make no mention of the real estate which Abraham Lincoln was holding at the time of his death. It is not until ten years later that we find what may be called a tabulation of his holdings. There may have been other tracts in his possession which the administrator was unable to locate. In 1796 the following pieces of property were listed by Mordecai Lincoln for taxation; 100 acres on Beech Fork; 400 acres on Floyd's Fork; two tracts of 1000 acres each on Kentucky River; two tracts on Green River, of 800 acres and 1134½ respectively.[9] With the possible exception of the 100 acres on Beech Fork we may feel sure that the property was in the name of Abraham Lincoln at his death. Two of the tracts above named are shown by later records to have been larger than the tax list reveals.

The Long Run tract when sold by Mordecai Lincoln showed a surplus of seventy-six acres in the actual survey.[10] The larger tract on Green River contained orig-

inally, as shown by Land Warrant 14427, the total of 2268 acres. Litigation over this property showed one Reed to have forged the name of Abraham Lincoln to a release of half the land. The entire tract was eventually restored to Mordecai, the plaintiff. In the sale of the 800 acres on Green River, Mordecai signs the deed as heir at law.[11] In Boone's Survey Book there are two entries of land, 1000 acres each, opposite the name Lincoln, which may account for the two separate tracts on Kentucky River.[12] Treasurer's Warrant No. 5994 shows the location of part of this land. Omitting the 100 acres on Beech Fork, the actual extent of land in the name of Abraham Lincoln at the time of his death was 5544 acres. A considerable estate for a "drifting, roaming people struggling with poverty." [13]

The Family Name

It is a remarkable fact, in view of the charges of illiteracy brought against the family of the president, that history has yet to record a Lincoln in Virginia or Kentucky who could not write his name. There are a few instances where the mark appears, but it is always used for convenience rather than necessity. The name is also spelled in many different ways when recorded by those not associated with the family, but every Lincoln spelt the family name "Lincoln." The writer was very fortunate to discover a document which settles forever the correct spelling of the name in the Kentucky branch of the family.[14]

In a suit filed in Nelson County, Thomas Lincoln, not

the son but the brother of Grandfather Lincoln, who lived in Fayette County, subscribed to a deposition. He was asked by Mordecai Lincoln, oldest son of the pioneer Lincoln, how the deceased spelled his name. Thomas replied, "He spelt his name *Abraham Lincoln.*" The suit seemed to hinge on the spelling of the name, as Mordecai asserted that one Reed had forged his father's name to a land note. The name in this case was spelled "Linkorn." Both Thomas, the brother, and Mordecai, the son, testify that Abraham Lincoln did not spell his name that way and that it was not his signature. It was for this Abraham Lincoln that the president was named. We have several signatures of Thomas Lincoln, father of the president, and each one spells the family name "Lincoln."

The Wife

While we have no document to prove that Abraham Lincoln was married twice, we do have several traditions to that effect. It must be admitted that the Virginia record which gives the date of his marriage does not give the name of his wife. Two other women besides Bersheba have been nominated for the honor of mothering Thomas Lincoln, the father of the president. One of them can easily be removed as a case of mistaken identity with reference to the Abraham Lincoln in question. Anna Boone married Abraham Lincoln, son of Mordecai Lincoln, July 10, 1760. Therefore Anna Boone was not a wife of Abraham Lincoln, the son of John Lincoln. The other claimant, Mary Shipley, we are unable to lo-

cate. As this claimant was said to be his second wife we need not seriously consider her for this rôle, since we are positive that the widow of Abraham Lincoln was named Bersheba.

One fact we are now able to establish with documents: from January 17, 1780, until the time of his death in 1786, Lincoln was married to a woman whose first name was Bersheba.

Tradition has it that she was a daughter of Leonard Herrin. If this be true she must have been the second wife of Abraham Lincoln if her father Leonard was married but once. As Mr. Herrin was married in the month of August, 1761, his oldest child, even if it were Bersheba, could have been but nine years old when Abraham Lincoln's first child was born. If Lincoln was married twice I do not know who was his first wife and the mother of his three sons and of possibly one daughter.

The Faithful Mother

We are not able to establish the date of the widow Lincoln's removal from the Long Run home in Jefferson County to the Beech Fork home in Nelson County (later Washington County). It must have been sometime between September 6, 1786, and October 14, 1788. On this last date, "John Alsey, Peter Sybart, Chrystopher Barlow, and William Slack or any three of them" were appointed by the Nelson County Court to appraise the estate of Abraham Lincoln, deceased.[15]

Too much cannot be said in praise of the mother who kept her family of orphan children together until they

were all of age or married. Besides the three boys already mentioned there were two girls, Mary and Nancy, who were but eight and six years old respectively at the time of their father's death. The scarcity of women in Kentucky at that early date must have brought many suitors to the door of Bersheba Lincoln, but her life was evidently lived in the interest of her children.

It is reasonable to think that the three boys were sent out to work as soon as they were old enough to earn a day's wage, and the president is probably right when he says that his father Thomas was "even in childhood a wandering, laboring boy." [16] The wanderer, however, always had a home to which he might return when some task was finished. There is no evidence that he was forced to leave his mother's cabin at an unreasonable age and gain his livelihood among strangers. Neither was he left "to beg, starve, or steal as he might select, by his unnatural brethren," as one authority affirms.[17]

The Scattered Family

The year 1801 marked the breaking up of the Lincoln home. A series of three weddings was responsible for the scattering of the children that Bersheba had kept together all these years. Mordecai, the oldest son, had married Mary Mudd in 1792.[18] Nancy, the youngest child, married William Brumfield on February 3, 1801; Josiah on the twenty-first of the same month married "Caty" Barlow; and Mary married Ralph Crume on August 5 of the same year.[19] This left Thomas, then twenty-five years old, the only unmarried child in the family. The

following year the first general migration of the Kentucky Lincolns took place, and a new Lincoln colony was established in what was then Hardin County. It is very likely that Bersheba went to live with her youngest daughter, but they probably settled on a farm which Thomas bought in 1803.[20] Mordecai and Josiah were the only children who remained in Washington County.

A permit filed with one of the marriage returns is of great interest:

> Sir you will please to give a license for William Brumfield to marry Ann Lincoln my daughter, given under my hand this 3rd day of February 1801.
>
> BERSHEBA LINCOLN.[21]

This document shows that she was the widow of Abraham Lincoln, that she was still a widow as late as 1801, that she was the mother of Ann or Nancy Lincoln, that she was a good scribe, and that the proper way to spell her name was Bersheba. This record so far as the writer knows is the only Kentucky paper that bears her signature and the last reference to her in the public documents.

THE AGED GRANDMOTHER

It is necessary for us in conclusion to pick up the strings of tradition. How far we shall be able to follow them with a considerable degree of certainty we are unable to say. Our only informant, Mr. J. L. Nall, a great-grandson of Bersheba Lincoln, was at one time a member of the Kentucky legislature, and later a merchant in southwestern Missouri. He says that his great-grandmother went to live with her youngest

daughter when they moved to Hardin County. They settled on Mill Creek, and the old lady continued to live there until her death. He said that she died at the very great age of 110 years, and that he was a big boy when she passed away. This last statement relative to her age is not in harmony with some other findings.

Mr. Nall says she was buried in the Mill Creek churchyard, and we believe that we have sufficient evidence to verify this part of the tradition.[22] The writer has discovered the grave of her daughter, Nancy Lincoln Brumfield, in this cemetery, and it is well marked.[23] Other members of the same family are buried there, but we were unable to find the grave of Bersheba. If she lived to a ripe old age it is likely that Abraham Lincoln saw her when he was a small boy in Hardin County.

CHAPTER II

THE HANKS ANCESTRY

My parents were both born in Virginia, of undistinguished families, second families perhaps I should say.
LINCOLN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY WRITTEN FOR FELL, 1859.

WHAT is known as the ancestral law of heredity allows the female of the species to share equally with the male in contributions made to the innate tendencies of their offspring. When we recall the proverb, "Great men must have talented mothers," we marvel that so little progress has been made in establishing the maternal lineage of Abraham Lincoln. There are many theories, traditions, and suppositions now current which attempt to name the parents of Nancy Hanks. No one thus far has been able to convince the critical student of Lincolniana that he has positive knowledge on the subject. But one book is available which attempts to submit evidence of a worthy maternity for the president.[1]

It is my purpose to use in the argument of this book only such data as can be verified by duly authorized public records, and this might preclude any discussion of the Hanks ancestry. Silence here, however, might imply that I was dodging an issue that is vital but charged with bitter controversy. Fully realizing the lack of documentary support which would allow one to speak with certainty in referring to the father and mother

of Nancy Hanks, I have chosen to make a survey of the most generally accepted evidence at hand.

As a matter of professional courtesy I have made no concentrated research with reference to the Hanks family. This has been due to the fact that some of my contemporaries have been interested in working out this problem, and in order that their efforts might not be disturbed or anticipated I have taken no initiative in the matter. During the general process of research I have accumulated considerable material which deals indirectly with the question of the Hanks ancestry, and I feel that it should be released here for the sake of future historians. There are in the Kentucky archives but two documents known to the writer which definitely refer to Nancy Hanks Lincoln. One is the marriage bond and the accompanying minister's return.[2] The other is the deed by which Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, his wife, conveyed the Mill Creek farm to Charles Melton.[3]

The Two Schools

The discovery of one other document bearing the name of a Nancy Hanks has not clarified the situation but made it more complicated. Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock found at Bardstown, Nelson County, Kentucky, many years ago, the will of a Joseph Hanks.[4] A wife named Nancy, five sons, and three daughters, the youngest daughter also named Nancy, were made beneficiaries in this will. Mrs. Hitchcock believed this girl to have been the same Nancy Hanks who married Thomas Lincoln. In her efforts to support this supposi-

tion she published a book under the title "Nancy Hanks" in which she exhibited not only the will but also a tradition by Mrs. C. S. H. Vawter.[5]

This book divided Hanks genealogists into two schools. Until the year 1900, the date of its appearance, Herndon's "Lincoln" had been the source of authority for virtually every published document that mentioned the maternal line of the president.[6] Herndon's information was gained from a certain Dennis Friend Hanks and a traditional conversation with Abraham Lincoln. Herndon's conclusion made Nancy Hanks the illegitimate child of one Lucy Hanks, who after the birth of Nancy married Henry Sparrow.[7]

Upon the release of Mrs. Hitchcock's volume the entire complexion of Lincolniana with reference to Lincoln's mother was changed, and virtually every biography, including the anniversary publications in 1909, shifted to the point of view of Mrs. Hitchcock. Until 1921 her theory of the president's maternity was very generally accepted. The appearance at that time of Jesse M. Weik's "The Real Lincoln," in which the Herndon version was rehearsed, had a tendency to divide opinion further.[8]

These two schools, one holding to the illegitimacy of Nancy Hanks, the other defending her legitimacy, might be designated by the names of Herndon and Hitchcock respectively, who have championed the two theories. We are not so vitally interested in the deductions drawn by either Mr. Herndon or Mrs. Hitchcock as we are in the original source material from which they made their deductions. We shall not attempt to discuss the inter-

pretations which other biographers have placed on the theories released by the spokesmen for these two schools.

All of Mr. Herndon's sources consisted of traditional material. The earliest information which he claims to have obtained was from the president himself, about 1850. After the death of Lincoln two members of the Hanks family, Dennis and John, grandsons of the pioneer Joseph Hanks, were interviewed. Considerable correspondence took place between Herndon and Dennis Hanks. These letters were the chief source of Herndon's knowledge about the Hanks ancestry, although many other Hanks families were interviewed.

Mrs. Hitchcock's deductions relative to the ancestry of Nancy Hanks were made from an enormous compilation of traditions and records gathered by her brother and herself in both England and America during a period of over fifteen years preceding the publication of her book. Her chief source of authority, however, in the question before us is the tradition of Mrs. C. H. S. Vawter, and the tradition of Mitchell Thompson, descendants of Sarah Mitchell Thompson, as well as one public document, the will of Joseph Hanks. The qualification of these informants for discussing the Hanks ancestry might first be discussed.

Herndon's Informants

Dennis Friend Hanks, according to his own testimony, was the illegitimate child of a Nancy Hanks. From further evidence we learn that his father was Charles Friend, from whom he received his middle name.[9] His mother

later married Levi Hall, whose sons he referred to as his half-brothers. A biographical sketch which Dennis prepared for Herndon in 1866 reveals the following information:

> Dennis F. Hanks was Born in Hardin County on the tributary branch of the South Fork of Nolin on the old Richard Creal Farm in the old peach orchard in a Log Cabin 3 miles from Hogins-Ville thence we moved to Mercer County and staid there Bout 3 years and moved Back again to the same place and there remained untill we moved to Spencer County Indiana this was I think in the year 1816 if my memory serves me Rite. My mother and Abe's mother's mother was sisters. My mother's name was Nancy Hanks. Abe's Grandmother was Lucy Hanks, which was my mother's sister. The woman that raised me was Elizabeth Sparrow, the sister of Lucy and Nancy the other sister her name was polly Friend. So you see there was four sisters that was Hankses. I have no letter from my friends yet I Dont no the Reason Billy did you write to William Hall in Missouri, Frankford. I think he could tell you something that would be Rite. He is my half brother try him. . . .[10]

Lamon, who had the use of the Dennis Hanks letters when gathering material for his biography, has this to say about Dennis: "Of all the contributors to Mr. Herndon's store of information, good, bad, and indifferent, concerning this period of Mr. Lincoln's life [the first twenty years] Dennis is the most amusing, insinuating, and prolific. He would have it understood that the well of his memory is the only proper source whence anything like truth can be drawn." [11]

Dennis himself, in his letters to Mr. Herndon, makes it very plain that the entire Hanks clan is dependent upon him for any authoritative information about the Hanks family history. Here are some excerpts from his let-

ters: "William, let in, don't keep anything back, for I am in for the whole hog sure, for I know nobody can do anything for you much, for all they know is from me at last. Everything you see is from my notes, this you can tell yourself. . . . I have seen a letter you wrote to my daughter, Harriet Chapman, of inquiry about some things, I don't know what she stated to you about your questions but you had better consult me about them. . . . If you don't have my name very frequently in your book it won't go at all." [12]

I am under the impression that the other members of the Hanks family who may have been interviewed were unable to release much information independently of Dennis. Upon the beginning of Herndon's inquiry there is evidence that there was considerable correspondence carried on between different branches of the Hanks family. That the tradition of Dennis became generally known among them must be admitted. Certainly there would be little original data after the appearance of Lamon's book in 1872, and after the release of the story by Nicolay and Hay in the "Century Magazine" fourteen years later most of the Hanks and Sparrow families would be familiar with the tradition.

It may be worth while to investigate the qualifications of Dennis to speak with an authoritative voice on questions of Hanks genealogy. It would be strange if he did not know the name of his own mother and the man whom she married after his birth. As he was informed about the place where he was born, we might conclude that he knew the names of his aunt and uncle with whom his mother was living at that time. We shall take it for

granted that he knew the names of the aunt and uncle who reared him. There is no question that Dennis was qualified to speak with authority on their relationship.

His source of information about the status of a Lucy Hanks at the time she married a brother of his foster-father, eight years before he was born, would not be so personal. Certainly he would be compelled to seek some information aside from his own observation. He may have seen Lucy Sparrow during the three years he lived in Mercer County. He went there with Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow in 1803 when he was four years old, but returned to Hardin County with them in 1805.[13] It is not likely that while he was playing with the children of Lucy Sparrow he was able to learn how many if any of Lucy's children were illegitimate. When William Herndon asked Dennis to shake the Hanks genealogical tree, forty-five years had elapsed since the death of his mother, his foster-mother, and his godmother. He would not be able to consult them about Lucy Hanks, whom he had not seen or had occasion to recall for almost sixty years.

John Hanks, another one of Herndon's informants, was born on February 2, 1802, on Rough Creek in Hardin County, later Grayson County, Kentucky.[14] His father, William Hanks, was a brother to Elizabeth, Mary, and Nancy Hanks, daughters of Joseph Hanks, Sr. This would make him a first cousin of Dennis Hanks. He was not born until ten years after Lucy Hanks married Henry Sparrow in Mercer County, nearly one hundred miles away, and it is doubtful if he ever saw her, having later moved further west. It is also unlikely that he

ever became very well acquainted with his father's three sisters. He did not associate with the Indiana Hankses until after Mrs. Sparrow and Mrs. Hall were dead. In Macon County, Illinois, he came in contact with Dennis Hanks and Abraham Lincoln.

There is no evidence that he was able to contribute anything of value to Dennis Hanks's knowledge of Lucy Hanks. Of this we may feel certain, that they both believed the same story with reference to this grandmother of Abraham. Herndon affirms as late as 1889: "Dennis and John Hanks have always insisted that Lincoln's mother was not a Hanks but a Sparrow." [15]

William Herndon asserted that Abraham Lincoln told him about the year 1850 that his mother "was the illegitimate daughter of Lucy Hanks and a well-bred Virginia farmer." [16] We shall not question here the accuracy of Herndon in reporting this conversation, or his ability to remember the first name of Lincoln's grandmother, which had been recited but once in his presence, sixteen years before he had occasion to recall it. We are inclined to believe, however, that the tradition of Dennis may have refreshed his memory to some extent.

What was the probable source of Abraham Lincoln's information about his grandmother Hanks? His mother died when he was but nine years old. It is not likely that she had endeavored to impress upon his mind the story of her own ancestry. A year after Nancy Hanks died Thomas Lincoln married again and became interested in new family relations. Surely they would not discuss Hanks genealogy with Abraham. The first letters of in-

quiry which came to Abraham Lincoln requesting information about his family were from the paternal relatives. His father was undoubtedly his source of information here, as he implies in a letter as early as 1848.[17]

It was not until his nomination for the presidency that there is evidence of interest in the maternal line. By this time his father had been dead several years. His rather close association with Dennis Hanks in Indiana and John Hanks in Illinois must have caused them many times to discuss their common ancestry. In the biography he prepared for Scripps in 1860, he said, referring to John Hanks, "He is the same John Hanks who now engineers the 'rail enterprise,' at Decatur, and is a first cousin of Abraham's mother."

I think we may conclude without fear of contradiction that whatever he may have believed about the family history of his mother it was in harmony with the tradition of Dennis and John Hanks. This would force us to conclude that the Hanks tradition had a common origin in Dennis Hanks, as he himself remarked, "All they know is from me at last." I feel that we must accept him as William Herndon's chief informant in matters relative to the Hanks family.

Mrs. Hitchcock's Informants

Mrs. Vawter, whose tradition Mrs. Hitchcock used in the development of her story about the origin of Nancy Hanks, was a daughter of John Hobart of Leicester, Massachusetts. She was related to Garret A. Hobart, one-time vice-president of the United States.[18] In the

year 1859 she was teaching in Springfield, Kentucky, and she was in that neighborhood when Abraham Lincoln received the nomination for the presidency. One of the citizens of Springfield remarked that he would not be surprised if the nominee was the son of a Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks who were married at the home of Uncle Richard Berry. The mention of the father's name confirmed this supposition. A few days later Mrs. Vawter visited an aged lady by the name of Mrs. Litsey who gave her a description of the wedding. She said she had been a friend of the bride and was present at the wedding. In 1866 Mrs. Vawter again visited the Beech Fork neighborhood in Washington County. It was not until February 20, 1874, that she contributed a written statement of the tradition about the mother of Nancy Hanks. She sent this to the "Louisville Courier," and I have read the story as printed in that paper.

Mrs. Vawter heard the story as related by Sarah Mitchell Thompson, her grandmother, who claimed to be an own cousin of Nancy Hanks and who lived with her in the same house for several years. Sarah Shipley Mitchell, later Sarah Thompson, had a son named Mitchell Thompson who was interviewed by a reporter of the "Louisville Courier-Journal" in January, 1881. His testimony was in harmony with that of Mrs. Vawter.[19]

The value of the evidence released by Mrs. Vawter and Mr. Thompson depends upon two considerations: first, the ability of Sarah Mitchell Thompson to remember the maiden name of her deceased mother, the maiden name of her mother's sister with whom she lived when she was married, and the maiden name of her aunt who was the

mother of Nancy Hanks, her companion in the home; second, the accuracy with which these relationships were remembered by Mrs. Vawter and Mitchell Thompson when they prepared them for the press. As Mrs. Thompson died in 1855 they could not refresh their memories later than that date.

If we grant that the independent but similar traditions of Mrs. Vawter and Mr. Thompson correctly report the tradition of Mrs. Sarah Thompson, we shall find that her genealogical task was not so unlike that of Dennis Hanks. Dennis was supposed to know the maiden name of his mother and three aunts. Mrs. Thompson was expected to remember the maiden name of her deceased mother and two aunts. So far as the qualification of the witnesses in this case is concerned, there is little difference if all things are taken into consideration.

It will now be our purpose to exhibit the traditions of these several informants as they have been released over their own signatures. We shall then bring to bear upon these traditions such documentary evidence as we have been able to gather.

The Herndon Sources

Two brief excerpts from his letters are all that is needed to present the tradition of Dennis Hanks. The first has already appeared in his autobiography prepared for Herndon:

> Abe's Grandmother was Lucy Hanks, which was my mother's sister. The woman that raised me was Elizabeth Sparrow and sister of Lucy and Nancy the other sister her name was

polly Friend. So you see there were four sisters that were Hankses.[20]

The four women mentioned as sisters were Mary—or Polly as she was called—Nancy, Elizabeth, and Lucy. Mary was married to Jesse Friend in Hardin County by Josiah Dodge on December 10, 1795.[21] A certificate signed by her brother positively identifies her and the traditional sisters with William Hanks, son of Joseph Hanks; he signs as her guardian and her brother.[22] Nancy, as we learn from Dennis, was his mother. That she married the father of William Hall, whose name was Levi, we are informed by Dennis's reference to his half-brother.[23] As yet no record has been found of the wedding of Levi Hall and Nancy Hanks. Elizabeth married Thomas Sparrow on October 17, 1796, in Mercer County.[24] No one will challenge the evidence thus far submitted, but we should have further testimony from Dennis before we discuss Lucy, who Dennis asserts was a fourth sister. It is found in a letter that he wrote to Herndon in February, 1866, which was a reply to Herndon's question about Lincoln's mother:

Hir name was Nancy Sparrow; hir father's name was Henry Sparrow, hir mother was Lucy Sparrow hir maiden name was Hanks, sister to my mother. 2nd. You say why was she called Hanks? All I can say is this She was Deep in Stalk of the Hanks family. Calling hir Hanks probily is My fault. I always told hir She Looked More Like the Hankses than Sparrow. I think this is the way, if you call hir Hanks, you Make hir a Base born Child which is not trew.[25]

We have shown that Dennis correctly reported the information about the first three Hanks women mentioned.

We have also suggested that the evidence which he was able to gather about Lucy Hanks would not come to him so directly. This might not allow us to accept his conclusions about her so readily. In fact he is much confused himself, as we may observe from the above excerpts.

Two courses are open to us here as we review this evidence. The easiest way out of the difficulty is to accuse Dennis of deliberately lying when he said with reference to Nancy Hanks, "if you call hir Hanks, you Make hir a Base born Child which is not trew." It has been said that Dennis would lie a little when necessary, but if he lied here John Hanks, who has been called the truthful one, must share the responsibility. We shall remember that Herndon said they both contended that Nancy's name was Sparrow. The reason for this contention is understood if they both believed she was not a base-born child. We have evidence that in 1784 Lucy gave birth to Nancy, many years before she married Henry Sparrow on April 3, 1791.[26]

If Dennis, John, and Abraham were in agreement about the maternity of Nancy Hanks, and Abraham is correctly quoted by Herndon, then Dennis and John Hanks told a falsehood. Of this fact we are positive, that Nancy Hanks was not a Sparrow. This, however, does not prove that she was an illegitimate child, unless it can be shown that her mother married but once. Before making further deductions here we should follow the other possible interpretation to be placed on this conflicting evidence.

If we admit that Dennis Hanks was honestly rather

than intentionally confused, his entire tradition of the relationship of the Hanks women could be harmonized with a single change. If Lucy, at the time she married Henry Sparrow, was Mrs. Lucy Hanks, widow of a brother of the three Hanks girls, instead of Miss Lucy Hanks, the difficulty would be removed. The difference between a sister and a sister-in-law, especially after a wedding that had taken place fifteen years before, might not have been explained to the seven-year-old boy Dennis. The sisters would naturally call Lucy their sister, and there would still be "four sisters that were Hankses." As Lucy Hanks and Elizabeth Hanks, foster-mother of Dennis, married brothers, there might be a still closer tie which bound Lucy to the three daughters of Joseph Hanks. The cousin relationship between John, Dennis, and Lincoln's mother would also be maintained.

The will of Joseph Hanks supports the above theory.[27] He mentions but three daughters in the will, the three about whom Dennis Hanks could not have been mistaken. He does not name a Lucy Hanks among his children. In his last bequest he states that after the death of his wife he is desirous that his estate be "equally divided between all my children." This would imply that all his children had been named. If Lucy was a widow of one of Joseph's sons, one might ask why she did not inherit a son's share. The answer would be that she was married to Henry Sparrow two years before the will was made, which would relieve Joseph of any obligation to her. If Lucy Hanks as an unmarried woman gave birth to an illegiti-

mate child in 1784, and then lived in the wilderness with its scarcity of women for seven years before marrying, we have a very unusual case indeed.

The Hitchcock Sources

Mrs. Hitchcock's source material from which she drew her conclusions about the parents of the president's mother can best be summarized through the testimony of Mitchell Thompson, who is in complete harmony with the tradition of Mrs. Vawter. As his material is in a much more condensed form, it will be used as an exhibit here. Excerpts from the story of Mrs. Vawter may be found in the chapter on the maternity. The following paragraph is from Mr. Thompson's notes:

> My mother was a Mitchell, a first cousin of President Lincoln's mother, their mothers were Shipleys from North Carolina. My mother was captured when a girl in 1790 by the Indians twenty-five miles beyond Crab Orchard at a place called Defeated Camp. Walter Caruth was leading the expedition. . . . Grandmother was struck down but grandfather stood by with a spear and carried her to Crab Orchard Fort. She died the next day. . . . My grandfather went in search of my mother and was drowned on one of his trips in the Clinck River. He and General Adair were swimming the River and he was thrown from his horse. My mother was surrendered under Wayne's Treaty. . . . Nancy Hanks, Abraham Lincoln's mother also went to live with Uncle Richard Berry, and Aunt Rachel, his wife, taught Nancy to spin and weave.[28]

It will be observed that three Shipley sisters are mentioned in this story. We know the first name of but one, Rachel, who married Richard Berry. One of her

sisters married Robert Mitchell, and the other a Mr. Hanks, whose first name is not given. Several documents are available to support enough of this tradition to give it at least a hearing.

Richard Berry, Sr., had a wife Rachel, as revealed by his will probated in Springfield on December 4, 1798.[29] His children are named as follows: Joanna, Rachel, Sarah, Richard, Frances Jane, and Edward. A John Berry's two children are also mentioned. John Berry married Ann Mitchell in Mercer County on August 18, 1786.[30] He was dead by 1795, and his will mentioned his wife Ann and two daughters, Margaret, or "Peggy," and Rachel.[31] We observe that in the settlement of John Berry's estate an account was paid to an Edward Shipley.[32]

Robert Mitchell, whose wife, a Shipley, was killed by the Indians, lost his own life while searching for a lost daughter. George Shipley and Adam Mitchell, one a relative of the wife, the other a relative of the husband, were appointed by the Mercer County Court as administrators of the estate.[33] In the settlement papers a bond is exhibited signed by Edward Shipley.[34]

These court records show that George and Edward Shipley were associated with both the Mitchell and Berry families. The tradition of Mrs. Vawter and Mr. Mitchell has it that a third Shipley sister married a Hanks and had a daughter Nancy. When a certain Lucy Hanks in Mercer County contemplated marrying Henry Sparrow it was necessary for her to certify that she was of age and secure witnesses to that fact. This she did as the following document will reveal:

I do sertify that I am of age, and give my approbation freely for henry Sparrow to git out Lisons this or enny other day, given under my hand this day

Apriel 26th 1790

Test

ROBERT MICHEL LUCEY

JOHN BERRY[35] HANKS

This question might present itself here: why should Robert Mitchell and John Berry be informed as to the age of Lucy Hanks? Our only conclusion is that Lucy was a Shipley, Robert's sister-in-law, and John's aunt. This should be a partial support of the tradition that Mrs. Rachel Berry, Mrs. Robert Mitchell, and possibly Lucy Hanks were sisters.

It is asserted that Nancy, the daughter of the Shipley sister who married a Mr. Hanks, went to live with her Uncle Richard and Aunt Rachel Berry. When Thomas Lincoln signified his intention of marrying Nancy Hanks it was necessary for him to give bond and secure one other bondsman. It was customary for the prospective bride's father or some member of her family to fill this office. On the Thomas Lincoln-Nancy Hanks marriage bond the name of Richard Berry appears, and he signs as guardian of Nancy.[36] As Richard Berry, Sr., was by this time deceased, the signature was that of his oldest son, Richard Berry, Jr.

This question would naturally follow: why was Nancy Hanks living in the home of her uncle and aunt? We might draw this conclusion, that she was an orphan. The tradition does not mention the given name of either her father or her mother; that he was a Hanks and she a Shipley is all that we know. The only Hanks we find

associated with the Berrys and Mitchells of Mercer County, at the time Nancy was not far away in the Berry home, is one Lucy Hanks, who is about to marry a Henry Sparrow. If we assume, as in the Dennis Hanks tradition, that this same Lucy was Mrs. Lucy Hanks instead of Miss Lucy Hanks, a point of contact could be formed between the Nancy Hanks in the Berry home and the Lucy Hanks in question. This Lucy Hanks would then be the Shipley sister who married a Hanks and who had a daughter Nancy. Her intended marriage to Henry Sparrow would suggest that her husband was dead and her daughter an orphan in need of a guardian, which in this case was Richard Berry.

Grandmother Lucy Shipley Hanks

We have said that there were two schools of opinion with reference to the Hanks ancestry, one holding that the mother of Lincoln was of natural birth, the other believing that she was the daughter of an unmarried woman. The former group based its conclusions on the theory that Nancy Hanks was the daughter of Joseph Hanks and was named in his will. We have shown that this theory cannot be maintained. The other group has depended on the testimony and interpretations of William Herndon. The evidence on which this school relies with most confidence is the alleged conversation between Lincoln and Herndon, which took place during a buggy-ride in 1850. If the interview is admitted, either Lincoln was confused as Dennis Hanks had been, or Herndon was mistaken about the testimony of Lincoln. Casual

remarks made thirty-nine years before they are retold cannot be considered good evidence, and we shall not allow them to invalidate documentary evidence.

Now that the interpretations and inferences of both these historians have been annulled, we may return to the original traditions of Dennis Hanks and Mrs. Vawter. We find that the stories of these two informants, which have been made to contradict each other for more than fifty years, are in convincing agreement. Dennis Hanks contended that Nancy was a daughter of Lucy Hanks but not a base-born child. Mrs. Vawter contended that Nancy was a daughter of a Mrs. Hanks, formerly a Miss Shipley.

The point of contact which shows these two women, each with a child named Nancy, to be one and the same is the certificate signed by Lucy Hanks, and witnessed by Robert Mitchell and John Berry.[37] Robert Mitchell married a Miss Shipley, and John Berry was either a son or younger brother of the Richard Berry who married Rachel Shipley. As the only Hanks woman available in the Mercer County records, who might have been before marriage a Miss Shipley, is associated with the Mitchells and Berrys, we should conclude that this Lucy Hanks was Mrs. Lucy Shipley Hanks. An exhibit in the settlement of the John Berry estate records the names of Thomas Sparrow, brother of Henry Sparrow, and Edward Shipley, probably a brother of the three Shipley sisters.[38] While these two names appearing side by side on the same statement may prove nothing, it does support the close association of these related families.

I do not assert that I have been able to present posi-

tive evidence that the maternal grandmother of Abraham Lincoln was Lucy Shipley Hanks. I have submitted, however, the first theory bearing on the Hanks ancestry of Lincoln that is not in conflict with documentary evidence, and has the support of all the records that are available. The name of Joseph Hanks' son who married Lucy Shipley we have not been able to learn. There were eleven white souls in the Virginia home of Joseph Hanks in 1782 as shown by the first census.[39] At the time he made his will in the Kentucky home ten years later there is one missing. This may have been the grandfather of Abraham Lincoln, husband of Lucy Shipley Hanks.

"WIDOY" LUCY HANKS

After this chapter had been written and the manuscript forwarded to the publisher, I discovered a document which I believe confirms the argument of the foregoing pages. I telegraphed at once to the publishers to hold the copy until this postscript could be forwarded.

While looking through Dr. William E. Barton's most recent book, "The Life of Abraham Lincoln," I paused to study the photographic reproduction of the Lucy Hanks certificate, appearing on a plate facing page 62 of Volume I. In comparing it with a printed copy of the text on page 6, of the same volume, I found that the transcriber had omitted some writing above the signature of Lucy. The three letters on the facsimile which had evidently been overlooked were "doy." Upon bringing a heavy reading-glass to bear upon the signature, two other let-

ters, dim but distinguishable, were observed. They appeared to be "w" and "i" and preceded the other three letters "doy." Evidently they were a part of the signature that followed. The complete signature evidently was:

WIDOY
LUCEY
HANKS

It seemed necessary after this discovery to go to Harrodsburg, Kentucky, and view the original document in the Mercer County Court-house. This I did, and as might be expected the original copy revealed more clearly the two dim letters. I realize that "widoy" does not spell "widow," and I shall have to allow the reader to draw his own conclusion as to what word Lucy Hanks intended to write before her name.

CHAPTER III

THE PATERNITY

It is my father's understanding that Abraham, Mordecai, and Thomas are old family names of ours. My grandfather had as I think I have heard four brothers: Isaac, Jacob, Thomas, and John. He had three sons: Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas, the last my father.

LINCOLN'S LETTER TO SOLOMON LINCOLN, 1848.

WHEN William Herndon came to Kentucky shortly after the death of President Lincoln, in search for the spark of genius which was responsible for Lincoln's greatness, what he claims to have found was a pool of despair. In his own words we shall allow the reader to evaluate his findings: "But Lincoln rose from a lower depth than any of them, from a stagnant, putrid pool; like the gas which set on fire by its own energy and self combustible nature rises in jets clear and bright." [1] Instead of searching the public records Herndon listened to a review of the campaign stories of 1860 and 1864 and incorporated them in the Kentucky chapters of his history.

The writer will not attempt to show that he has discovered the source of those noble qualities which found expression in the unique character of the president. He does not intend to point out certain hereditary contributions which the father may have made to the illustrious

son. He does desire, however, to exhibit such documentary evidence as will settle for all time the question of Lincoln's paternity, and prove beyond any shadow of a doubt that Thomas Lincoln was the father of Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth president of the United States.

Virtually every discussion of the paternity of Abraham Lincoln has followed the deductive method of reasoning. The usual plan has been boldly to assume a paternity, and then fortify the assumption with affidavits and traditional data. We have nothing to assume in this argument. Our plan is to present in a chronological order a series of public records, which locate Thomas Lincoln from the time he serves in the militia in 1795 until Abraham Lincoln is born in 1809. Such an approach has heretofore been impossible. Up to the time of this research not more than half a dozen public records bearing Thomas Lincoln's name had been found. The writer has been able to compile a list of over one hundred documents referring to him. Virtually all of these are being used as sources in this book for the first time.

Because of the large number of documents available, a very brief interpretation with reference to each item will be given. Fuller discussions may be found in chapters which deal with specific subjects elaborating on the life of Thomas.

1795: Enlisting for Service

We are first introduced to Thomas Lincoln as a soldier. At the age of nineteen he was mustered in as a member of a guard for the Fourth Regiment of militia.

He was under the command of Lieutenant George Ewing and, with a sergeant and five privates, served from June 8, 1795, to July 7, 1795.[2] He is also enlisted the following month under Philip Washburn as lieutenant. The guard at this time was increased to twelve men.[3] He may have seen further service, but only three of these muster-rolls were found, and his name appears on two of them.

While June 8, 1795, is the first date we have associated with Thomas, we do find him on the Washington County commissioners' report for the same year, listed as a white male between the ages of sixteen and twenty.[4] The significance of this entry is the fact that he was making Washington County his home.

1796: Approaching His Majority

On May 11, 1796, Thomas Lincoln's name again appears on the commissioners' report for Washington County, and he is still listed as a white male between sixteen and twenty.[5] This allows us to approach a little closer to the ascertaining of his age. Sometime between the visit of the tax commissioner in May and July 13, 1796, he went to Hardin County, where he found employment with Samuel Haycraft. The writer is in possession of the original account-book which shows Thomas Lincoln to have received from Samuel Haycraft the sum of thirty-nine shillings, on July 13, 1796.[6] This account implies that Thomas arrived in Hardin County at least two weeks before this date, as the wage which Hay-

craft was paying others at this time was three shillings per day.

1797: Twenty-one Years of Age

The discoveries of the writer for 1797 have contributed very much to our knowledge of Thomas Lincoln. Two questions that have greatly troubled Lincoln biographers are settled by documents now available. The first question to be answered is that of the year when Thomas Lincoln was born. In the commissioners' tax report of Hardin County for the year 1797 Thomas Lincoln is listed as a white male twenty-one or over.[7] This record is in harmony with the other two commissioners' reports to which we have already referred. It is also in harmony with an entry which Bersheba Lincoln made in 1792, at which time she listed one male child between sixteen and twenty years of age.[8] Josiah, the other son, does not appear on the Washington County commissioners' lists at all by name until 1797, and then as a white male twenty-one years or over.[9]

The writer realizes that Thomas Lincoln's birth as thus fixed is at least two years earlier than the generally accepted date, January 7, 1778, found on the Lincoln tombstone.[10] This date would not be contradicted by the two Washington County records in listing Thomas as a boy between sixteen and twenty, but would not allow him the age of twenty-one in 1797, as shown in the Hardin County commissioners' report. Two other dates have been given wide publicity, as the birth dates of Thomas Lincoln. In the beautiful memorial at Hodgenville, the

cabin in which Abraham Lincoln was born, there appears engraved on a marble slab a brief biographical sketch of Thomas Lincoln,[11] in which the date of his birth is given as January 30, 1770. This of course is a mistake, as both of the Washington County lists show him to have been under twenty-one in 1795 and 1796. Another date, put forward by Lea and Hutchinson in their work on the ancestry of Lincoln, places the birth of Thomas on January 20, 1780.[12] The Washington County entry for 1795 would refute this date, as Thomas would not have been sixteen years old so early, had he been born in 1780. From this recapitulation of the evidence we have in hand, it appears that Thomas Lincoln was born sometime between May 11, 1775, and the summer of 1776. As all three of the authorities cited agree as to the month, although they are all at variance as to the day of the month, we might conclude that Thomas Lincoln was born in January, 1776—"born with the republic," if you please.

Directly above this entry of Thomas Lincoln on the Hardin County commissioners' list is the entry of Hananiah Lincoln, an own cousin of Thomas Lincoln's father.[13] The association of the two names at this period, in a book not given to following the alphabetical system of entries, allows us to infer that Thomas was living with Hananiah Lincoln.

A Laborer at Good Pay

The other question which the writer feels is satisfactorily answered, by the discoveries for this year, is the

source of income which allowed Thomas Lincoln to pay cash for a 238-acre farm in 1803.[14] As has already been indicated, Thomas Lincoln was in Hardin County as early as July, 1796, and was earning three shillings a day working on a mill-site. The uncompleted records reveal that a minimum sum received from Mr. Haycraft for work during this interval was twenty-six pounds.[15] The saving of 118 pounds with which to purchase a farm was the result of several years of hard labor.

1798: Visiting with Relatives

From 1795 to 1816 we are able to locate Thomas Lincoln every year with the exception of 1798, when it is likely from the silence of the records that he was outside the State. The tax records of Hardin County for 1798 are intact, but there are no Lincolns listed in them. The tax records for Washington County, we regret to say, have not been found.

We need one year, however, in which to find Thomas Lincoln absent from Kentucky. Abraham Lincoln in the sketch prepared for Fell says that "before he [Thomas] was grown he passed one year as a hired hand with his Uncle Isaac on Watauga, a branch of the Holston River, getting back into Kentucky and having reached his twenty-eighth year. . . .[16] While this statement of the president implies an early visit to Tennessee, it also infers that Thomas's "getting back into Kentucky" did not long antedate his marriage in 1806.

We have tried to find some authentic record of the removal of Isaac Lincoln to Tennessee. A deed for

property conveyed to Isaac Lincoln is delivered to Jacob Lincoln in 1799.[17] This would naturally imply that a sale had been made at some time before this date, and probably not long before. This record would favor the 1798 date as the time of Thomas Lincoln's visit to Tennessee.

There is one other possibility in regard to the absence of Thomas during the year 1798. There is a tradition which has had some circulation among the descendants of Hananiah that he joined Boone in his Missouri purchase of that year.[18] The fact that the names of both Thomas and Hananiah disappear from the tax lists at the same time might suggest that Thomas accompanied his cousin on this venture.

1799: An Owner of Live Stock

Regardless of where Thomas was in the year 1798, we find him back in Washington County the following year and appearing on the Washington County tax lists as a white male of twenty-one or over. He was in possession of two horses.[19] All three of the Lincoln boys, Mordecai, Josiah, and Thomas, are entered on the record, but the lists were given in on September 6, June 22, and June 29 respectively. This would imply that no two of them were living together, but which one was living with the mother, Bersheba, we cannot say.

1800: His Tangible Property Reduced

The year 1800 carried very much the same record as the previous one: the three brothers list property, but

not on the same day. Both Josiah and Thomas, who listed two horses each the year before, on this year list but one each.[20]

1801: Writing a Legible Hand

The record of Thomas Lincoln in the Washington County commissioners' lists for 1801 is identical with the entry for 1800.[21] A far more interesting record than this appears on August 31. Peter Sibert, son of the Peter Sibert, Sr., who had been one of a committee to appraise the estate of Abraham Lincoln, deceased, was married to Mary Bridges. It had been necessary for Mary to present a certificate to the clerk from her mother before the license could be granted. This Mary had done, and it read as follows:

> This is to certify that the matter now pending between my daughter and Peter Sibert is well approved by me as witness my hand and seal August 16, 1801.
>
> Kathren Bridges.[22]

There are two witnesses to this certificate, Josiah Lincoln and Thomas Lincoln, and both of them sign their names in a good legible hand.

This, so far as I know, is the first signature of Thomas Lincoln which has been discovered, and it proves beyond any doubt that five years before he married Nancy Hanks and eighteen years before he married Sally Johnston he was able to write his own name. He did not need to be taught his letters by either of them, as has been affirmed by several writers.

1802: The Migration to Hardin County

Three weddings during 1801 in the Lincoln home left Thomas Lincoln the only unmarried member of the family of five children. These marriages were responsible for the breaking up of the Lincoln home and the scattering of the family. While Thomas was listed as a resident of Washington County as late as September 6, 1802, it is evident that shortly after this time he accompanied the other migrating members of the family to Hardin County.[23] Mordecai and Josiah remained in Washington, but the mother, Bersheba, her two daughters and two sons-in-law and Thomas, followed the general westward direction of migration. From now on we shall have but one occasion to return to Washington County for data connected with the chronology of Thomas Lincoln.

1803: A Guard of Prisoners

Our authority for placing the Lincoln migration to Hardin County in the latter part of 1802 is a record which shows Thomas to have been in the county by January, 1803. In this month James Wilson, a citizen of Hardin County, had been arrested on the charge of passing counterfeit money.[24] In order to conduct him to the county jail at Elizabethtown there was summoned by Charles Helm, the deputy sheriff of Hardin County, a guard consisting of the following men: Thomas Lincoln, Henry Ewing, Jesse Harris, William Allen, George Helm, and Nathaniel Wicliff.[25] Four of these men were re-

tained as guards during Wilson's imprisonment.[26] Another document affirms that that they "continued to guard the number of days annexed to their names: Henry Ewing, 6 days; Thomas Lincoln, 6 days; Jesse Harris, 4 days; William Allen, 4 days." [27] The county was not very prompt in meeting its obligations for this service, as the claims were not allowed until the November term of court of 1803.[28]

Buys His First Farm

We find that during 1803 the Washington County records verify those of Hardin County. Thomas's name does not appear on the Washington County lists, but a note under his name on a delinquent list states that he has "gone to Hardin." [29] The Hardin County tax list carries his name for 1803, and for the first time he is taxed for a tract of land, 200 acres on Mill Creek.[30] This Mill Creek Farm was purchased from John Stator, and the deed of conveyance bears the date of September 2, 1803. The tract contained 230 acres, and the consideration was "the sum of one hundred and eighteen pounds in hand paid." [31] Thomas Lincoln was now twenty-seven years old, and almost any able-bodied unmarried man of his age with even normal ability could have saved a like sum.

His Name Linked with Pioneers

There has recently fallen into the hands of the writer many of the old personal papers of the Haycrafts.

There lies before me as I write a promissory note with the following inscription:

> For value received I promise to pay unto Samuel Haycraft executor of Letis Vanmetre, deceased, or order the just sum of £26,17.3 in currency to be upon demand witness my hand and seal this 26th day of June 1803.
>
> JACOB VANMATRE.[32]

The witness to this note was Thomas Lincoln, and he wrote his name in a clear bold hand. Samuel Haycraft and Jacob Vanmatre were two of the most substantial citizens of the county. It was for Samuel Haycraft that Thomas had worked in 1796 and 1797, and it is possible that he had now been engaged to work for Haycraft again. It is very likely that the friendships created in Elizabethtown on his first residence in Hardin County were responsible for his return in 1802.

HIS FIRST JURY SERVICE

While only freeholders were supposed to serve on juries, Thomas had been qualified for this capacity but one month before he was called upon. He saw his first jury service at the October term of court, 1803.[33] The plaintiff in the case was Isaac Bush, a relative of Sally Bush Johnston. The following men served on the jury in this case: Joseph Kirkpatrick, Greenberry Dorsey, Thomas Lincoln, John Smoot, Conrad Walters, John Alexander, Vincen Dunn, Daniel Wade, Daniel Holman, Samuel Larue, and Samuel Wright. The jury found for the plaintiff with one cent damages and his costs. The defendant was Sarah Shaw, wife of Bennon Shaw, and

the jury decided that "the assault of the defendant Sarah was without any such cause as in pleading they have alleged."[34]

1804: The Road Builder

Thomas Lincoln's jury service did not close with the Bush *vs.* Shaw case in 1803. In April, 1804, he is again numbered among the twelve sitting on two different cases.[35] The record of most interest for this year is a petition for the opening of a road.[36] Not many people who ride over the Dixie Highway between Elizabethtown and Camp Knox, Kentucky, realize that the father of President Lincoln was one of the petitioners for a section of this very road. The petition was circulated, the writer believes, in 1804, although there is no date on it. The county court order book supports this date.[37] The road ran not more than a mile and a half from the Mill Creek Farm, and it opened up a better approach to the county-seat than the old road by Cedar Creek. Not only do this petition and the jury service rendered establish Thomas Lincoln's residence in Hardin County in the year 1804, but the Hardin County tax list shows him to be a tithable, with one horse to his credit.[38]

1805: A Hardin County Policeman

Some of the later biographers assert that Thomas Lincoln became a resident of Washington County again during 1805. The Hardin County tax list, however, shows him to have been in Hardin County, the entry in

the tax book being identical with the 1804 entry.[39] It is not only on this document that the evidence of Thomas's residence in Hardin for this year stands, for he was chosen a patroller in the northwardly district of the county in 1805; Christopher Bush was a captain of the patrol.[40] This service began at the March term and lasted three months.

1806: He Marries Nancy Hanks

The Hardin County commissioners' returns show Thomas Lincoln to have been a resident of Hardin County at the time of his marriage.[41] That he was on a visit to his brothers, Mordecai and Josiah, in Washington County just before his marriage might be true; no one now disputes the authenticity of the various records connected with the Lincoln-Hanks nuptials. The marriage bond dated June 10, 1806, bears the name of Thomas Lincoln in his own handwriting.[42] Richard Berry as "garden," and John H. Parrott, witness, are the other signatures on the bond. The marriage returns made by the Rev. Jesse Head show Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks to have been married June 12, 1806, two days after the bond was issued.[43] After the wedding we have reason to believe that Thomas brought his bride immediately to Hardin County, possibly to the Mill Creek home, but very soon afterward they were settled at Elizabethtown.

Here we present the first bit of direct evidence of the paternity of Abraham Lincoln. That Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were legally married we cannot doubt.

The authority of the minister to perform the service cannot be questioned, and the fact that the newly married couple immediately established a home on the strength of this ceremony will be shown.

1807: The Home-Builder

The tax list for the year 1807 shows Thomas Lincoln to have acquired a lot in Elizabethtown.[44] The inference naturally is that he built a cabin there. In regard to this cabin, Samuel Haycraft, the historian, says that it was like the other cabins built in that day. He names several prominent citizens who built homes at the same time and of the same type.[45] The most interesting feature of Thomas Lincoln's home-building experience is his purchase of some kitchen-ware for Nancy. On January 15 and 16 a sale of the personal property of Thomas D. McIntire, deceased, was held. Thomas Lincoln was present at the sale and made three purchases, a dish and some plates, a basin and some spoons, and also a sword.[46] The aggregate of his purchase amounted to $8.92.

The First Child

Upon the authority of the president himself we learn that the first child of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln was born at Elizabethtown.[47] Her name was Sarah, and her birthday was February 10, 1807.[48] In the birth of Sarah Lincoln we have the second bit of direct evidence bearing on the legitimacy of President Lincoln. His father and mother were not only legally married but they

were happily married, and the union was productive of offspring. The marriage returns are now conserved in the archives of the Washington County Court-house. The State of Indiana guards the documents which prove the identity of Sarah Lincoln and protect her grave. These two indestructible bits of evidence should be kept in mind as we approach the natal day of Abraham Lincoln.

The Hewing Contract

Sometime previous to March 25, 1807, Thomas Lincoln had entered into an agreement with Denton Geoghegan to get out and hew enough logs for the construction of a sawmill. Geoghegan contended that the work was not up to specification, and it was necessary for Thomas to bring suit for the recovery of the wages due him.[49] This he did on March, 1807, and at the hearing before a magistrate Thomas was awarded the contract price.[50] Geoghegan carried the suit into the county courts and was again defeated.[51]

Not only was Lincoln in the courts trying to protect his own interests at several sessions during 1807, but he continued to be called to serve on juries. The dates on the records for 1807 indicate that he was closely confined to Elizabethtown during this period, and although hampered to an extent by the lawsuit was able to lay a little money aside for an emergency.

1808: The Month of May

It may be well to consider here the dates that are important in a paternity question such as this. Surely the

date of the child's birth is of no importance except as it may fix an earlier date on which the child was conceived. There is only one authority of which we are informed that has ever attempted to question the date of the birth of President Lincoln.[52] Each year as February 12 comes around we celebrate the anniversary of the event that happened in 1809. Another phase of the president's genesis which has never been questioned is his normality at birth. From these conclusions we should choose the month of May in the year 1808 as the period in which we most desire to find the Lincolns living happily together. Realizing the importance of the month of May, 1808, in establishing the legitimacy of the president, the writer has compiled a list of exhibits which should convince any one that Thomas Lincoln was living at home at this important season, and not roaming over the country.

On May 8 Lincoln was served with a summons in an appeal of the Geoghegan suit.[53] On May 9 the court confirmed the magistrate's decision in favor of Thomas.[54] On May 16 Thomas Lincoln was credited with a fee in this same suit.[55] On May 31 Geoghegan again attempted to defeat Lincoln by bringing suit against him to recover a part of the money paid.[56] The dates May 6, 9, 16, and 31 should be sufficient evidence that Thomas was in Elizabethtown during this period.

The month of May itself can be supplemented with documents that show Thomas to have been a resident of Elizabethtown in both the preceding and the following months. On April 25 and on June 17 he saw jury service.[57] At the June term of court he was called to guard

a prisoner.[58] At the October term of court the suit brought by Geoghegan against Lincoln in May was withdrawn, and Geoghegan paid the charges.[59]

It must be kept in mind by the reader that Nancy Hanks, who is accused of being unfaithful to her husband on some day during this month, was the mother of a fifteen-months-old baby girl. There is nothing to indicate that peace and harmony was not prevailing in the Lincoln home, and it can be shown that a reasonable degree of prosperity was being experienced.

Town Lots and a Farm Purchased

Sometime between the commissioners' report for the year 1807 and the year 1808, Thomas Lincoln had acquired more property in Elizabethtown. In 1807 but one town lot was listed, with no value placed upon it. In 1808 two lots were entered for taxes, with a valuation of forty dollars.[60]

It is not the purchase of town lots but the farm purchase that has proved to be his most important business transaction of the year. He bought on December 12, 1808, three hundred acres of land on the South Fork of Nolin Creek, from Isaac Bush. In consideration for it he paid two hundred dollars in cash and assumed a small obligation due Richard Mather, a former titleholder.[61] From the historian's point of view the discovery of the papers showing that Thomas Lincoln owned the South Fork Farm as early as 1808 can be counted as one of the most valuable contributions to Lincolniana.

1809: A Father's Anticipation

It is evident from the court orders for January, 1809, that Thomas had been making some effort to collect money that was due him from the county for different services rendered. He first gets the claims allowed.[62] He then sees that an order for payment is issued, and he finally collects the amount. A copy of the order may allow us to appreciate how urgent it was to have the money at this time, with the expectation of an heir in mind:

> Monday January 9, 1809. Ordered that Benjamin Helm do pay to Thomas Lincoln three pounds ten shillings for guarding William Bray and others out of any money that may be in his hands when collected for delinquent list.[63]

This record, appearing but one month before the birth of the president, is valuable in establishing the fact that Thomas Lincoln was in Hardin County, Kentucky, at a period when so many historians have had him wandering in other parts of the country. While this discussion of the paternity of Abraham Lincoln might have stopped with the presentation of the records of 1808, it is well to observe that as the birthday of the child approaches Thomas and Nancy Lincoln are located on their own farm of 300 acres. They were in possession of another tract of 230 acres, and possibly were still in possession of the Elizabethtown property. The tax list for the year shows Thomas to have been the owner of two horses.[64]

An Honorable Paternity

The writer, after examining thousands of public records in Kentucky, affirms that there is no document of which he is aware that is detrimental in any way to the reputation of Thomas Lincoln. Hundreds of documents have been read charging others with drunkenness, adultery, engaging in riots, breaking the Lord's day, assault and battery, profane swearing, and so on, but the name of Thomas Lincoln never appears among the accused. The very absence of his name, on many records where we should expect to find the name of such a character as he is reported to have been, is one of the strongest arguments in his favor. There is no evidence that he found it necessary to borrow money during this period. If he had been in need he could have sold the Mill Creek Farm, which he did not sell until 1814.[65] That he had ready money to purchase two farms we are positive, and that he lent money to those with whom he worked we have evidence.[66]

If Thomas Lincoln contributed any innate tendencies to his illustrious son they would have found expression in his own life previous to Abraham's birth. It is certain that tendencies developing in the life of Thomas after he was thirty-three years old could not have influenced Abraham from the point of view of heredity. Humility, sobriety, industry, and integrity are some of the traits that characterized the Thomas Lincoln we know in this early period of his life. How many of these types were inherited by his son we cannot say. Of this we are sure, that Thomas did not handicap Abraham by

passing on to him traits of character that would need to be corrected, and which would stand in the way of the son's progress. How the environment during the first seven years of Abraham's life was influenced by the father is the task for another chapter to disclose.

CHAPTER IV

THE MATERNITY

Having reached his [Thomas Lincoln's] twenty-eighth year he married Nancy Hanks, mother of the present subject, in the year 1806. She was also born in Virginia.

SKETCH PREPARED BY LINCOLN FOR SCRIPPS, 1860.

IT was the pioneer mother who suffered most in the conquest of the wilderness. Transient and inadequate homes, a man's place in the field, lack of medical care, and a constant fear of the lurking savages robbed her of the comforts and composure inherited by her offspring. The mother of President Lincoln was one of these self-sacrificing spirits who quietly made their contribution to civilization and passed on. Her short and obscure life may not have impressed her contemporaries with its significance, but the offering she made to the nation gave it a new birth. As the spirit of democracy assumes the characteristics of a great international force, the whole world brings its tokens of appreciation to the cabin door of Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

We should not expect to find the public records referring to Nancy Hanks so productive of information as the large number of documents which speak of Thomas Lincoln. There are only four sources in the archives of Kentucky court-houses where we usually find entries of historical value with reference to women. Marriage

papers, deeds, wills, and proceedings in equity sometimes allow us to learn their family relations and activities. There is no evidence that Nancy was ever summoned before a court in legal proceedings either as principal or witness. As her father probably died before she came to Kentucky and her mother survived her, we should not expect to find her mentioned in any will made within the State. We do find her name on the marriage bond of Thomas Lincoln, and also on the deed of conveyance, in conjunction with her husband, when the Mill Creek farm was sold.[1]

If this discussion is to be of value we must rely on tradition to lead us, as we were compelled to do in the chapter on the Hanks ancestry. Here, also, we shall be able to introduce documentary evidence that may either sustain or disprove the traditional matter that is submitted. It is very fortunate that stories about Nancy are available that extend over the entire period of her Kentucky residence. While they may overlap somewhat in point of time and while they present some contradictory conclusions, the reader must make up his own mind as to the validity of the information they convey. We shall not attempt to rehearse the enormous amount of untenable gossip which has centered about the mother of Lincoln.

The Birth of Nancy Hanks

We shall depend upon Abraham Lincoln to inform us of his mother's birthplace, although it is very indefinite: he said that she was born in Virginia, giving no location as to county or town.[2] As some traditions relative to

the place of her birth would not come within the scope of this Kentucky history and have no documentary support, they will not be introduced here. We shall be interested, however, in the probable date of her birth.

Mrs. Caroline Hanks Hitchcock, so far as I can learn, is the first biographer who suggests a birthday for Nancy Hanks: she says it was February 5, 1784, but does not offer any authority.[3] When the brief biographical sketch of Nancy was prepared for the tablet on the interior wall of the memorial building at Hodgenville the date used for January 4, 1784.[4] The old tombstone on the grave of the president's mother at Lincoln City, Indiana, bears this inscription: "Nancy Hanks Lincoln, mother of President Lincoln, died October 5th, A. D. 1818, aged 35 years. Erected by a friend of her martyred son, 1879." When the stone now occupying the burial site was prepared, the old stone was evidently used as an authority for the date of Nancy's birth and her age at the time of her death; the wording was slightly changed, as follows: "Nancy Hanks Lincoln, mother of Abraham Lincoln, Died October 5th, 1818, Age 35 yrs." The question now arises, what was the authority for the inscription on the tombstone? One writer who presents a picture of the marble slab, put up in 1879, states that Nancy was but thirty-three years old at death but gives no reference to support the statement.[5]

I have been unable to learn whether or not the first stone placed on the grave of Nancy Hanks, previous to the Studebaker marker, bore an inscription. It was erected by the citizens of the community, as related by a daughter of Joseph D. Armstrong, who headed the sub-

scription paper. If there was an inscription on this early stone it was probably the source of information for the two memorials that followed.[6]

The Lincoln-Johnston family Bible, which we might expect to give us advice relative to her age, is of no assistance. The president made the first entries in this Bible not earlier than 1847, four years before the death of his father. He enters the date of his mother's death but does not record the date of her birth or her age at death. When he enters the date of his father's death at a later writing, he also gives his age. The absence of any reference to the age of his mother may imply that he did not have the facts about it.

Herndon in his volume of 1889 says that when Nancy Hanks was married in 1806 she was in her twenty-third year, or twenty-two years of age.[7] This may be the source for her age as it is generally accepted, although I have observed somewhere the statement that Lincoln asserted his mother was thirty-four years old at the time of her death. Richard Berry signed the marriage bond of Nancy Hanks as her guardian. If he was still acting in this legal capacity in 1806, she could not have been born earlier than 1785.[8]

Her Girlhood Days

The arrival of Nancy Hanks in Kentucky has been variously placed from 1784 to 1790. Richard Berry was in Kentucky as early as 1780. We do not know when he brought his wife, Rachel Shipley Berry, and children to the six-hundred-acre farm on Beech Fork which he had

entered on his prospecting trip.[9] If Rachel did not come until after the birth of Nancy she may have been in the same company with this aunt. The other Shipley sister did not arrive until 1790, when the party was attacked by Indians and this aunt of Nancy lost her life.

The most likely supposition is that Nancy came with the family of Joseph Hanks, which migrated about 1786 and was in Kentucky by February 28, 1787. At this time Joseph Hanks bought 150 acres of land on Rolling Fork from John Lee, who owned the adjacent property.[10] We do not find positive evidence of the presence of Nancy Hanks in Kentucky until November 24, 1789. On this date the grand jury of Mercer County brought in an indictment against Lucy Hanks, her mother, for fornication. We draw the conclusion that Nancy came to Kentucky in the same company with her mother, sometime between 1785 and 1789.

The first attempt to locate Nancy in one of the homes of many Shipley and Hanks aunts was made by Herndon, probably on the information of Dennis Hanks. We have shown in the chapter on the Hanks ancestry that Dennis Hanks, born in 1799, was not capable of speaking with authority on the status of Lucy Hanks as early as 1791, and the same might be said with reference to his information about Nancy.

Herndon says, "At a very early age she was taken from her mother Lucy . . . and sent to live with her aunt and uncle, Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow."[11] Lamon further states that they were the only parents that she ever knew.[12] Thomas Sparrow and Elizabeth Hanks were not married until October 17, 1796, five years after the mar-

riage of Henry Sparrow and Lucy Hanks.[13] There was no Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow home created until Nancy Hanks was twelve years old, which completely invalidates the tradition that she went to live with them at a very early age. It is just as inconsistent to assert that they were the only parents she ever knew, as she had reached the age of twelve before the traditional foster-parents were married. She must have called some one father and mother besides Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow for the first twelve years of her life, and I very much doubt if she ever addressed them as such.

We have a more dependable witness than Dennis for the period of Nancy's life following her early childhood. About the first few years we do not claim to have trustworthy information. We shall again be obliged to turn to Mrs. Hitchcock, who has conserved the tradition of Mrs. C. S. H. Vawter, which tells the story of Nancy's girlhood days. Mrs. Vawter was the granddaughter of Sarah Shipley Mitchell, who claimed to have been the companion of Nancy Hanks while the president's mother was living in the family of Richard Berry. It could not have been until 1795 that Sarah Mitchell became associated with Nancy Hanks. At that time Sarah was fourteen years old and Nancy according to tradition was eleven.

If a point of contact can be shown between these two girls of about the same age, and we have trustworthy informants, the tradition that has come down from one of them should bear some weight in our final estimate of Nancy Hanks. After Sarah Mitchell married she named one of her daughters Nancy Hanks Thompson. After

Nancy Hanks married she named her first child Sarah Lincoln. We do not know of another Nancy Hanks for whom Sarah Thompson could have named her daughter. Sarah was not a Hanks name; and none of the three Hanks sisters, not even Elizabeth, the alleged foster-mother of Nancy, is honored in the naming of Mrs. Lincoln's first child. Sarah is not a Lincoln name, and the child could not have been named for the sisters or the mother of Thomas Lincoln. It is very likely that Nancy Hanks Lincoln named her first child and only daughter after her cousin and playmate Sarah Mitchell.

Mrs. Hitchcock probably first saw this tradition in a Louisville paper. With the exception of a single paragraph about the visit of Thomas Lincoln to the Beech Fork community, it is identical with her own printed account. Because the news copy appeared sixteen years before the release of Mrs. Hitchcock's book, we shall give it the preference here, but the book is chiefly responsible for the circulation that the story has so far received.

The story as told by Mrs. C. S. H. Vawter and printed in the "Louisville Courier" of February 20, 1874 is as follows:

As I remember the story of Nancy Hanks, it ran thus: Her mother's name before marriage was Shipley and one of her sisters married a Mr. Berry another sister married Robert Mitchell who also came to Kentucky about the year 1780. While on the journey the Mitchells were attacked by Indians and Mrs. Mitchell fatally wounded and their only daughter, Sarah, a child eleven years old was captured and carried into Michigan, where a squaw saved her life by hiding her behind a log. Mr. Mitchell mounted his horse and accompanied by his friend General Adair,

went in search of his daughter, but was drowned in the Ohio River while attempting to cross it. The sons of this father and mother were afterwards scattered to different parts of the state. One of them, Daniel, settled in Washington County on the Beech Fork a few miles from Springfield and near his two cousins Frank and Ned Berry. To these cousins came Nancy Hanks, and the legend is that "her cheerful disposition and active habits were a dower to those pioneers." Soon after the Mad Anthony Wayne treaty with the Indians in 1794 or 1795 the lost Sarah was returned to her friends, and lived in the home of her Uncle Richard Berry with her cousins Frank and Ned Berry and Nancy Hanks until both girls were married.

These girls were as intimate as sisters. Sarah Mitchell was the pupil of Nancy Hanks in learning to spin flax, the latter being adept in that now lost art. It was the custom in those days to have spinning parties, on which occasion the wheels of the ladies were carried to the house designated, to which the competitors, distaff in hand, came ready for the work of the day. At a given hour the wheels were put in motion, and the flimsy fibre took the form of firmly lengthened strands in their mystic hands. Tradition says that Nancy Hanks generally bore the palm, her spools yielding the longest and finest thread. Abraham Lincoln was not an exception to the rule that great men require that their mothers should be talented.

Sarah Mitchell was a woman of a high order of talent. She married a Virginian, had many fine children, and retained until her death the greatest veneration for the memory of her cousin whose name she gave to one of her daughters. Modesty had laid the impress of silence upon these relatives of a noble woman, but when the voice of Calumny has presumed to sully her name, they hurl the accusation to the ground and proclaim her the beautiful character they had learned to love long before they knew that to her had been given an honored son. From one who had learned from Saintly lips to admire her grandmother's cousin.

C. S. H. V.

Mrs. Hitchcock, who uses a portion of this same article makes a comment upon it as follows:

The writer of this letter, Mrs. C. S. H. Vawter, was a Massachusetts woman. She was the granddaughter of Sarah Shipley Mitchell, and therefore properly referred to Nancy Hanks as her grandmother's Cousin. Her grandmother afterward married John Thompson, and one of their children was named Nancy Hanks Thompson.[14]

We are able to check up this tradition with a series of public documents which test the validity of this story claiming to present the companion of Nancy Hanks. Sarah Mitchell must have been a friend of Thomas and Nancy during those days when they were all neighbors and when a mutual attraction sprang up between the parents of the president, before Thomas moved to Hardin County.

The first exhibit is a letter which Mary Mitchell wrote to Governor Shelby on May 1, 1793.[15] She solicited his help "on behalf of my grand child who was taken prisoner by the Indians in the wilderness last fall two years, her name is Sally S. Mitchell daughter of Robert Mitchell, deceased." Instead of the massacre and capture taking place in 1780, it was in 1791. If Sarah was returned in 1794 or 1795 she was a captive for only three or four years. Mary Mitchell is Sarah's grandmother, and in the concluding paragraph of the letter she says, "I am old and very frail." We do not know Mary Mitchell's husband's name or her maiden name, and we do not know what the initial S. stands for in Sarah's name.

The next document that bears on this discussion is a settlement of the estate of Robert Mitchell in the year 1801.[16] This was probably the Robert, son of Mary, that was killed by the Indians, although there is a possibility it was the husband of Mary Mitchell instead. Her

extreme age, however, and the fact that she does not mention her husband's name would rather defeat this supposition. We should rather call this a verification of the tradition about Robert Mitchell's massacre.

Another exhibit shows that Sarah did return from captivity probably about the time suggested by the tradition, for on January 17, 1800, she married John Thompson in Washington County.[17] It appears from a certificate attached to the marriage bond that Daniel Mitchell had been made guardian of Sarah, who was probably his niece. In the permit granted her to marry John Thompson, Daniel calls her "my ward."[18] The word "garden" placed under the name "Daniel Mitchell" on the marriage bond is spelled like the same word placed under the name "Richard Berry" on the Thomas Lincoln bond. The fact that Daniel Mitchell who married Jane Berry was the guardian of Sarah would imply that she lived in their home rather than in the home of either Frank or Ned Berry. Daniel was her brother and Jane her cousin.[19]

Still another public record of importance in this inquiry was discovered by the writer in the reports on vital statistics now conserved in the archives of the Kentucky State Historical Society at Frankfort, Kentucky. It is the official report of the death of Sarah S. (Mitchell) Thompson. This entry shows that Sarah was born in North Carolina, the daughter of Robert and (name not given) Mitchell. It further reveals that she died in Washington County of paralysis on July 18, 1855, at the age of seventy-four years.[20] At the time of her capture by the Indians in 1791, the tradition of Mrs. Vawter asserted that she was ten years old. This record proves

the tradition to be correct. If Nancy Hanks was born in 1784, Sarah Mitchell was three years the senior of Nancy. At the time of her marriage to John Thompson she was nineteen years of age.

It is doubtful if there are many traditions concerning events that happened more than eighty years before their release that have had a more complete verification by public documents. It is also significant to observe how the evidence had become scattered. The five documents to which we have referred were found in five different counties: the original tradition in a Louisville newspaper, Jefferson County; the settlement of the Robert Mitchell estate in Mercer County; the marriage bond of Sarah Mitchell and John Thompson in Washington County; the death-notice of Sarah S. Thompson in Franklin County; and the Mary Mitchell letter in the Durrett collection at Chicago University.

The Wedding of Nancy Hanks

The wedding of Nancy Hanks is one place in the life of the president's mother upon which we have documentary support. On June 10, 1806, Thomas Lincoln, with Richard Berry as bondsman, filed his declaration of intention of marrying Nancy Hanks. John H. Parrot was a witness to this document.[21] According to the marriage returns of the Rev. Jesse Head, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married two days later, June 12, 1806.[22] Much has been said of Abraham Lincoln's attempt to discover whether or not his father and mother were ever legally married and of his having died without

knowing that a record of the marriage existed. This may be true, but we do not think for a moment that he ever doubted the fact of their marriage. He may have written first to Washington County for the date of the wedding; as the clerks could not find the records there he wrote to Hardin County. He knew that his father had lived in Hardin County before the wedding, and he surmised that Thomas might have got the necessary papers there before going to Washington County for his bride. He did know that his father's sister Mary Lincoln married Ralph Crume in Washington County, and this information he sent to one of her descendants in 1861.[23] It is strange that he knew the place of his aunt's marriage in 1801, five years before the marriage of his own parents, but did not know where they were married. It must be admitted that the marriage papers were not discovered until 1882 or thereabouts.[24] It may have been the absence of these records that gave such wide circulation to the story that Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were never legally married.

There is one who claims to have been an eye-witness of the wedding of Nancy Hanks and who gives us a picture of this event. His own affidavit makes him alone responsible for the information he furnishes. Dr. C. C. Graham in his one-hundredth year gives us this account of the Lincoln-Hanks wedding:

> I am one of two living men who can prove that Abraham Lincoln, or Linkhorn, as the family was miscalled, was born in lawful wedlock, for I saw Thomas Lincoln marry Nancy Hanks on the twelfth day of June, 1806. I was at the infare too given by her guardian John H. Parrott and only girls with money had guardians appointed by the court. We had bear meat that you

can eat the grease of; and it does not rise like other fats venison wild turkey and ducks; eggs wild and tame (so common that you could buy them at two bits a bushel); maple sugar strung on a string to bite off for coffee and whiskey; syrup in big goards; peach-and-honey; a sheep that the two families barbecued whole over coals of wood burned in a pit, and covered with green boughs to keep the juices in; and a race for the whiskey bottle.[25]

Two years before this Mr. Graham had made another affidavit in which he gives some of his own history. This enables us to learn something of his contact with the generation about which he writes:

I Christopher C. Graham, now of Louisville, Kentucky aged ninety-nine years on my oath say: That I was present at the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks in Washington County near the town of Springfield, Kentucky; that one Jesse Head a Methodist preacher of Springfield, Kentucky, performed the ceremony. I knew the said Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks well, and know the said Nancy Hanks to have been virtuous and respectable, and of good parentage. I do not remember the exact date of the marriage, but was present at the marriage aforesaid and I make this affidavit freely and at the request of J. W. Wartmann to whom for the first time I have this day incidentally stated the fact of my presence at the said wedding of President Lincoln's father and mother. I make this affidavit to vindicate the character of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, and to put to rest forever the legitimacy of Abraham Lincoln's birth. I was formerly proprietor of Harrodsburgh Springs; I am a retired physician, and am now a resident of Louisville, Kentucky. I think Felix Grundy was also present at the marriage of said Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, the father and mother of Abraham Lincoln.[26]

The above affidavit was made on March 20, 1882, seventy-six years after the wedding took place. The internal evidence of the affidavit implies that he is re-

lating the story for the first time on this occasion. If the law holding that "There is no impression without expression" be true, the impression of the wedding could not have been deeply impressed in his mind after lying dormant seventy-six years. That Mr. Graham may or may not have been present at this wedding we shall not discuss, but it is evident that we have here in this detailed description of the occasion a typical pioneer wedding scene. As to the place of the nuptials we have nothing but tradition to guide us; this has been thought sufficiently authentic, however, to cause an old cabin to be conserved as the very building in which it took place.[27]

Mrs. Nancy Hanks Lincoln

We have presented the tradition with reference to the birth of Nancy Hanks as it has come down to us through her son. We have given a picture of her play-days as painted by Nancy's girlhood companion, Sarah Mitchell, remembered by Mrs. Vawter, and published by Mrs. Hitchcock. We have recited the story of the wedding as it has come down to us from Christopher C. Graham, and now we are ready to hear the testimony concerning her married life.

From the time of her marriage until her death, a period of twelve years, there is but one public record on which we can rely, to prove that she was a historical character. We do have some authoritative matter in the handwriting of President Lincoln that shows the date of the birth of her first child, Sarah, and the birth of Abraham, and also the information that another child, Thomas,

was born and lived but a short while. Outside of this we shall be obliged to depend on tradition.

The fact that we have been able to produce so many documents which locate Thomas Lincoln during this period does in reality locate his wife. There is every indication that there was a congenial relationship between husband and wife and that they were as prosperous and as happy as the average pioneer family. But to come to a personal estimate of Nancy Hanks's character and ability we shall be obliged to rely upon tradition. The one name that forces itself upon us as a source of this material is that of Dennis Friend Hanks. We have discussed his qualifications as an informant in a previous chapter. It is possible that John Hanks also supplied some source material for the early biographers.

> A slender, symmetrical woman, of medium stature, a brunette, with dark hair, regular features, and soft, sparkling hazel eyes. Tenderly bred, she might have been beautiful; but hard labor and hard usage bent her handsome form, and imparted an unusual coarseness to her features long before the period of her death. Toward the close, her life and her face were equally sad; and the latter habitually wore the woeful expression which afterwards distinguished the countenance of her son in repose. By her family, her understanding was considered something wonderful. John Hanks spoke reverently of her "high intellectual forehead," which he considered but the proper seat of faculties like hers. Compared with the mental poverty of her husband and relatives, her accomplishments were certainly very great; for it is related by them with pride and delight that she could actually read and write. The possession of these arts placed her far above her associates, and after a little while even Tom began to meditate upon the importance of acquiring them. He set to work, accordingly, in real earnest, having a competent instructor so near at hand; and with much effort she taught him what letters composed his name, and how to put them together in

a stiff and clumsy fashion. Henceforth he signed no more by making his mark; but it is nowhere stated that he ever learned to write anything else, or to read either written or printed letters.[28]

The above effort is Lamon's attempt to dramatize the character mentioned in the correspondence of John and Dennis Hanks. Herndon, using the same material, gives a somewhat different picture of the president's mother:

At the time of her marriage to Thomas Lincoln Nancy was in her twenty-third year. She was above the ordinary height in stature, weighed about 130 pounds, was slenderly built, and had much the appearance of one inclined to consumption. Her skin was dark, her hair brown, eyes grey and small, forehead prominent, face sharp and angular, with a marked expression for melancholy which fixed itself in the memory of all who ever saw or knew her. Though her life was clouded by a spirit of sadness, she was in disposition amiable and generally cheerful.[29]

One other character-sketch, by Holland, might be presented here: "Mrs. Lincoln, the mother, was evidently a woman out of place among those primitive surroundings. She was five feet five inches high, a slender, pale, sad, sensitive woman, with much in her nature that was truly heroic, and much that shrank from the rude life around her. A great man never drew his infant life from a purer or more womanly bosom than her own." [30]

It is evident from the compilation of sketches, including the one by Mrs. Vawter, that all of the informants could not have had the same person in mind. We suggest that each of the following persons may have contributed some characteristic of the composite Nancy Hanks: a girl in the home of the Berrys in Washington County; a

Nancy Hanks who was the mother of Dennis Friend Hanks; and Sarah Bush Johnston, the second wife of Thomas Lincoln. A trustworthy description of the mother of Abraham Lincoln is not available.

CHAPTER V

THE BIRTHPLACE

I was born February 12, 1809, in the then Hardin County, Kentucky, at a point within the now County of Larue, a mile or a mile and a half from where Hodgen's Mill now is. My parents being dead, and my own memory not serving, I know no means of identifying the precise locality. It was on Nolin.

DATA SUPPLIED HICKS BY LINCOLN, 1860.

ON Shakspere's monument at Stratford-upon-Avon is the following inscription:

> Great Homer's birthplace seven rival cities claim;
> Too mighty such monopoly of fame.

One cannot stop with the sacred number seven when he attempts to collate the traditional birthplaces of Abraham Lincoln. Not only do we find fifteen rival sites claiming the log cabin of the nativity, but their location in three different States makes the matter more complicated. Yet there are some who say that Lincoln was not well born. It shall not be our purpose to discuss all of these fifteen claims in this chapter. We shall group them geographically, drop those outside the State of Kentucky without comment, and carefully consider the sites that seem to have some right to be designated as possible locations.

North Carolina furnishes three traditional birthplaces in the affidavits compiled by James A. Cathey: Ocona

Lufta, Jonathan Creek, and some point in the State between the first site and Kentucky.[1]

Tennessee names one site associated with a visit that Thomas made to his Uncle Isaac's in that State. It is said that Thomas and Nancy lived as common-law man and wife there and that little Abe was born in a cabin on Lynn Mountain.[2]

Kentucky supplies the other eleven sites. Two of these in Bourbon County, a cabin, and a stone house near Thatcher's Mill, we shall pass by.[3] Of the others, one is in Washington County, four in Hardin County, and four in what is now Larue County.

We shall be obliged to discuss the Washington County claim because of the insistence with which the people of that community have held to the theory that Lincoln was born there.

The Washington County Claim

A feature writer of the "Louisville Post" contributed an article on March 23, 1925 forwarded from Washington County, in which he says:

> There is much insistence by the citizens of Washington County, that Abraham Lincoln was born in this County. . . . At the time the Collier investigation was proceeding it was declared that the investigators met with apathy in Washington County; that those who were approached to aid in finding the true birthplace of Lincoln did not care to bestir themselves in the matter; that if they had taken trouble to collect affidavits from old citizens (now dead but then living) who had known the Lincolns and had often declared that they remembered the birth of their first male child, the memorial building would be in Washington County instead of Larue. . . .

To make this claim more specific and locate the identical place we may refer to an affidavit by R. M. Thompson. He says, "That Richard Berry Jr. told him as he now recollects and his memory serves him well, about the close of the civil war that President Abraham Lincoln was born in said house in Washington County, the same in which his parents were married." If the Washington County citizens could have convinced the Lincoln Memorial Association that Lincoln was born in Washington County, they would still have had a question of location on their hands. Mr. C. S. H. Vawter in a letter to the "Louisville Courier" of April 18, 1874, says "that the marriage occurred in the house of Francis Berry." Others, including Mr. Thompson, affirm he was born in the home of Richard Berry. In reality we have two birthplaces in Washington County.

We shall have to admit that there was an Abraham Lincoln born in Washington County. There was also an Abraham Lincoln born in Fayette County. In fact, there were three Abraham Lincolns born in Kentucky, on or before February 12, 1809. Not only so but two of these Abraham Lincolns had fathers by the name of Thomas Lincoln. But it is reasonable to conclude that only one of these Abraham Lincolns could have been the future president of the United States.

The Abraham Lincoln born in Fayette County was the son of Thomas Lincoln, brother of the Pioneer Abraham Lincoln.[4] The Abraham Lincoln born in Washington County was a son of Mordecai Lincoln, brother of the president's father. This is the Abraham that has caused all the confusion in Washington County. He was the

oldest child of Mordecai and Mary Lincoln, and was born as early as 1797.[5] This would account for the fact that some of the old settlers of Washington County remembered Abraham, the president, as a child running around when Thomas and Nancy left the community. It probably never occurred to them that there could have been more than one Abraham Lincoln in Kentucky. This Abraham, a son of Mordecai, was also married in Washington County.[6]

Proof that the Washington County sites are not tenable may be had by a review of the long list of entries which show that Thomas Lincoln was in Hardin County from 1803 to 1816. This would include the date of Abraham's birth.

The Hardin County Sites

Of the four Hardin County sites two can be eliminated immediately, while the other two may have some arguments in their favor which will allow them a hearing. Mr. Clint Crume, a relative of the Ralph Crume who married Mary Lincoln, and at the time of the interview circuit clerk of Hardin County, told the writer that he had often heard an aged negro say that "Lincoln was born on the old 'Pop' Martin Place, on the Hardin-Breckenridge line."[7] The fact that there is no record that the Lincolns ever lived in that general locality would nullify this story on the first count.

An old and respected citizen of Elizabethtown by the name of T. S. Gardner told the writer that "Abraham Lincoln was born on the Talbott place three miles from

Elizabethtown." [8] This is another tradition of the same general character, in which an old log cabin became associated with the Lincolns, but it is purely traditional.

The other sites near Elizabethtown cannot be dismissed so easily. The writer is aware that there is no documentary evidence that reveals just where the Lincoln cabin in Elizabethtown was situated. Mr. John Kerrick in an affidavit prepared for the writer contends that the cabin stood on Haycraft Alley and affirms that "I have heard my father and mother tell many times about the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln, and remember the house in which he was born."[9] As Mr. Kerrick believed the first child born to be a boy, he is evidently in error about the birth of Abraham in Elizabethtown.

Virtually all of the older citizens of Elizabethtown believe the cabin in which the Lincolns lived to have been situated on what is now Race Street. This information was made public by Mr. Haycraft in his history of Elizabethtown. Many early biographers considered the Elizabethtown cabin the one where Lincoln was born, and the likeness of the cabin in its dilapidated condition is often shown as the birthplace of Abraham.[10] It is admitted by most of the biographers that the old cabin had been moved two or three times since it had been occupied by Thomas and Nancy Lincoln. The writer is of the opinion that the cabin which is mentioned by Mr. Kerrick as having been located on Haycraft Alley is the same one that later occupied a site on Race Street.

We have positive evidence that the Lincoln family lived in a cabin in Elizabethtown from shortly after their marriage until sometime in the winter of 1808 and 1809.

We are equally sure that the cabin located on Race Street was never the home of the Lincolns while it was situated there or while it stood on Haycraft Alley. This was the cabin that was occupied by Sally Bush Johnston, who later became the second wife of Thomas Lincoln.

There was a cabin in Elizabethtown, however, which might be given some consideration as the birthplace of the President, but its location no one knows. We have no way of ascertaining just when the Lincolns left Valley Creek for South Fork. That it was later than December 12, 1808, we feel certain, and that it was before February 12, 1809, we learn from Abraham Lincoln himself, who makes the direct statement that he was not born in Elizabethtown.[11] He also makes the positive statement that he was born in that part of Hardin County that is now Larue.[12]

The Larue County Locations

It is strange that the county in which Lincoln was born should have four locations where the Lincoln cabin is said to have stood. Two are connected with traditional homes, and two are connected with recognized dwelling-places of the Lincolns. No two of these sites are less than three miles apart. We shall consider the two traditional home locations briefly.

It has been thought by some that the cabin in the peach-orchard where Thomas and Nancy are said to have been living during the summer of 1808 was their home for a longer period, and that they did not leave it until after Abraham was born.[13] The evidence in the previous chap-

ter destroys any basis for this tradition and at the same time eliminates the possibility of Abraham's having been born there.

The other tradition, of which the writer learned from Miss Lizzie Thurman, is one which is more of a family heirloom than anything else. It was Old Billy Larue who said: "Abraham Lincoln was born on a farm on Nolin River at the mouth of South Fork. He said he ought to know for his father lived just across the creek." [14] Although there is no evidence that the Lincolns ever lived three miles west of the generally accepted home of the Lincolns, this location does happen to be on the right creek, and, according to Lincoln himself, about the right distance from Hodgenville.[15] If there was any evidence whatever which showed the location of a Lincoln home there, we should have great difficulty in eliminating this site.

The Knob Creek Lincoln cabin has also been designated as the place where Abraham Lincoln was born. It is not strange that all three of the Kentucky cabins in which Thomas and Nancy Lincoln lived at different times should lay claim to having sheltered the baby Abraham on his natal day. Each of these cabins was the birthplace of a baby Lincoln, and this fact has caused much confusion. It was not until the family had been absent from Larue County for forty years that there was any occasion to remember which one of these cabins was the birthplace of the second child of the Lincolns. The child born at Elizabethtown was Sarah. Thomas, who lived but a short time, was born on Knob Creek. It was this last child that the father of Lee Pottinger had in mind when

he told his son that Abraham Lincoln was born on Knob Creek.[16]

Through this process of elimination we have dismissed every traditional birthplace site but one. It will now be our task to present evidence that the Lincoln Spring farm near Hodgenville is the place where Abraham first saw the light of day. It is true that many affidavits have been collected which apparently establish the site.[17] Affidavits with Larue County seals, however, bear no more weight than those bearing Hardin and Washington County certifications. Affidavits made in Tennessee and North Carolina are as valid as those made in Kentucky. What we most need and heretofore have not had is a duly authenticated public record which shows that the Lincolns were in possession of the Lincoln Spring farm on February 12, 1809.

The Birthplace Farm

In a brief biographical sketch prepared in 1860 for the artist Hicks, Abraham Lincoln wrote the following statement with reference to his birthplace: "My parents being dead and my own memory not serving, I know of no means of identifying the precise locality. It was on Nolin Creek." The positive announcement here eliminates sites other than those on Nolin Creek. The negative statement has invited historians to seek other sources of authority which would definitely place the "precise locality" of his birth.

The first attempt to center the attention of the public on the site of the nativity of Lincoln was made by Alfred

W. Dennett in 1894. He purchased from the Richard Creal heirs 110½ acres of land in Larue County, Kentucky, known as the Lincoln Spring Farm. The tract was designated in the deed of conveyance as the farm "on which Abraham Lincoln was born." [18]

Ten years later the Rev. Jenkins Lloyd Jones made a pilgrimage to Hodgenville and visited the traditional place of Lincoln's birth. Upon his return to Chicago he published an article in "Unity," a magazine he then edited, appealing to Congress to purchase the Lincoln farm and rescue it from its neglected condition.

From the initiative taken by Mr. Jones there developed the Lincoln Farm Association. Its first task was to collect affidavits from old citizens in an attempt to establish the exact site of Lincoln's birth, as other communities were claiming the same distinction enjoyed by Hodgenville. The Larue County affidavits were unanimous in their location of the Lincoln cabin, but no attempt was made to establish the boundaries of the land on which the cabin stood. This was probably due to the fact that Thomas Lincoln was considered a "squatter" on another's land at the time Abraham was born. There is no evidence that Dennett, the first purchaser, investigated the public records to learn what title, if any, Lincoln had to the land. When the Collier interests secured possession of this same property owned by Dennett, and presented it to the Lincoln Farm Association, they were positive of but one fact relative to its association with Thomas Lincoln; namely, that his log cabin stood within the boundaries of the farm purchased.[19]

While doing research work in the Hardin County Court-

house I discovered documents which show that Thomas Lincoln was in possession of 300 acres of land on Nolin Creek at the time Abraham Lincoln was born.[20] A review of this evidence established two facts at variance with generally accepted tradition: first; Thomas Lincoln was a freeholder and not a squatter; second, the Lincoln farm comprised a definite plot of 300 acres rather than an indefinite tract of land that might reach out in any direction from the cabin site.

The discovery that Lincoln owned the farm on which Abraham was born completely changed the relative value of the 110½ acres comprising the Lincoln Farm now owned by the United States government.[21] The present holdings as well as any other territory in the immediate vicinity might serve as the domain of a squatter, but with a title-bond in the possession of the cabin owner specifying a certain tract of land as his property, the entire economic status of the settler would be changed. It then became the task of the writer to locate the original 300 acres of Thomas Lincoln with respect to the cabin site and also the 110½-acre farm on which it is situated.

It was at this point, in the enthusiasm of my new discoveries, that I made the most serious blunder of this historical effort. I failed to challenge the authority for associating a title-bond held by the Creal heirs with the farm which they sold to Dennett, and which later became the property of the Lincoln Farm Association. Like title-holders and other interested parties I had taken for granted a situation which in the light of later discoveries could not be maintained.[22] It was not until a recent visit to Hodgenville, in quest of further documents bearing on

the history of the Lincoln family, that I learned the error of my former conclusions, just in time for the proper adjustment before publication.

The title-bond mentioned above is now in possession of Mr. Charles F. Creal, formerly of Hodgenville, Kentucky, now of Frankfort. It is the only document of which the writer knows that has ever been associated with the present Lincoln Farm of 110½ acres. It is dated March 19, 1814, and is signed by Richard Mather, who conveyed the property to William Duckworth.[23] It was one line of this tract which was "to run with the land David Vance bought of me," that offered the point of contact with the 300-acre tract which Mather sold to Vance and which was later acquired by Thomas Lincoln. It was evident from this clause that the 100-acre farm sold to Duckworth by Mather in 1814, and the 300-acre farm sold to Vance by Mather in 1805, could not be identical. My conclusion from this observation was that the present Lincoln Farm was not to be associated with the original Thomas Lincoln farm.

My recent discovery of additional documents in the Larue County Court-house has revealed the fact that the 100-acre title-bond held by the Creal heirs has no reference to the 110-acre Lincoln Farm but it is a division of a tract just south of it. With a sense of real satisfaction and relief I found, after platting the various adjacent holdings, at least 100 acres of the Lincoln Farm to be within the 300-acre tract owned on February 12, 1809, by Thomas Lincoln.

Because of the many divisions made in this 300-acre survey it will not be possible to show the change of owner-

ship for each division. Taking a small plot of about ten acres which surrounded the cabin and the famous spring, we are able for the first time to trace it from the patentee to the present title-holder, the United States of America. The following persons at the time designated gained possession of the cabin site where Abraham Lincoln was born: William Greenough, February 20, 1786;[24] John Dewhurst, June 15, 1786;[25] William Weymouth, October 15, 1791;[26] Joseph James, June 11, 1798;[27] Richard Mather, December 23, 1802;[28] David Vance, May 1, 1805;[29] Isaac Bush, November 2, 1805;[30] Thomas Lincoln, December 12, 1808;[31] Benj. Wright (commissioner), September 12, 1816;[32] Gabriel Kirkpatrick, December 19, 1816;[33] John Welsh and William Duckworth, December 19, 1816;[34] George Burkhart, July 16, 1822;[35] Henry Thomas, January 28, 1824;[36] John Gash, October 14, 1830;[37] Henry Brothers, April 2, 1835,[38] Charles F. Huss, March 25, 1840;[39] William Huss[40] and William J. Thomas,[41] February 15, 1845; Henry B. Horn, September 27, 1852;[42] Royal P. Hankla, December 14, 1853;[43] Richard Creal, August 26, 1867;[44] Alfred W. Dennett, November 23, 1894;[45] L. B. Handley (commissioner), May, 1905;[46] R. J. Collier, August 28, 1905;[47] Lincoln Farm Association, November 9, 1807;[48] United States of America, April 16, 1916.[49]

The above exhibit gives to the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln a documentary rather than a purely traditional setting. It also suggests the difficulty experienced in tracing back but one small segment of a 300-acre survey. Other divisions of the Thomas Lincoln Farm would show as many transfers of titles as this small tract on which the

cabin stood. By a survey made on December 4, 1837, it was discovered that the original 300-acre tract owned by Thomas Lincoln really comprised 348½ acres.[50]

The Cabin by the Spring

This chapter would not be complete if we did not have something to say about the Lincoln cabin inclosed within the Memorial Building. The usual question which the visitor asks when first looking upon the cabin is something like this: "Is that really and truly the cabin in which Abraham Lincoln was born?" Tradition alone can answer that question, and it gives both a negative and an affirmative answer. It shall not be our purpose to discuss these traditions, as no conclusion can be drawn which may be called authentic. We are able to trace the history of this cabin, however, from about the year 1861 until the present day and can say without fear of contradiction that the cabin now housed within the Memorial Building is the same as the one removed from the Lincoln Farm about the year above mentioned.

The writer has talked with Mrs. Bettie Burba, now deceased, daughter of Dr. George Rodman who first purchased the cabin and removed it from its original site. She said that her father bought the cabin shortly after Lincoln was elected to the presidency, that he was a great admirer of Lincoln and at one time visited him in Washington.[51] She furthermore said that she thought the reason why that her father bought the cabin and had it moved to his own farm a mile and a half away was because of its connection with Abraham Lincoln. Richard

Creal, son of the owner of the adjacent farm and later a purchaser of the site on which the cabin stood, told the writer that he remembered seeing the cabin moved when he was a small lad.

Our best informants relative to the early history of this old cabin are the members of the John Davenport family, who now live on the old Dr. Rodman place. This family came into possession of the Lincoln cabin when they purchased the farm.[52] I have known Mr. Davenport for several years and have had many interviews with him. He is the man who broke up the school in the Lincoln cabin by marrying the teacher and setting up housekeeping in the old building. Mr. and Mrs. Davenport were married in 1875, and at least three of their children were born in the same cabin in which Lincoln was born. One of these children, now a mature man, Ivy Davenport, lives with his father on the old farm. The house in which they live was partly constructed by proceeds from the sale of the old cabin.[53]

The Rev. W. T. Davenport, a brother of John Davenport, in a letter to the Rev. John W. Cunningham, gives a brief history of the old Lincoln cabin as follows:

> My mother's farm was just one mile and a half from the Lincoln Farm. Dr. George Rodman now dead, was our old family physician for years and often told us that he bought the Old Lincoln cabin and had it moved to where it was then standing. It was there as a tenant house and was never used as a meat or smoke house. When I was on the Buffalo Mission 1872–1873 we boarded with my mother, and my wife taught a subscription school in the old cabin. Others taught in it after her. When my brother was married he repaired the old cabin and made some addition to it, lived in it, and three of his children were born in it.[54]

With the sale of the Lincoln cabin in 1894 to A. W. Dennett, at the time when the title to part of the Lincoln Farm was accquired by the purchaser, the cabin began an extensive itinerary. Mr. Dennett first moved the cabin back to the Lincoln Farm, not to the original site near the spring, but to the crest of the hill where the Memorial Building now stands. It was then dismantled, and the 143 logs were numbered and shipped to the Nashville Centennial. From there it was moved to Central Park, New York, and it was also exhibited at the Buffalo Exposition. At the close of the exposition it was purchased by David Creer and stored in the basement of the old Poffenhauson Mansion at College Point, New York.

In 1906 the Lincoln Farm Association purchased the cabin, and under military escort it was sent to Louisville, where it was the feature of the Louisville Home-coming Celebration. The cabin was stored in Louisville until the laying of the cornerstone of the Memorial Building at Hodgenville, when it was brought to the farm for the occasion. After the exercises it was immediately returned to Louisville, and there remained in a fire-proof storage building until the memorial was completed in 1911, when it was moved for the last time to its present abode.

Although ambitious news reporters have had the logs of the Lincoln cabin mixed with the logs of the Jefferson Davis cabin, and on one occasion had the entire pile of logs stored in a box-car that was destroyed by fire, there is no question in the mind of the writer that the logs now comprising the Lincoln cabin, with the possible exception

of a few used for repairs, are the same as those purchased by Dr. George Rodman and removed from the Lincoln Farm about 1861.

The Cabin Enshrined

While I resided at Hodgenville I made frequent visits to the Lincoln Farm and often sat before the cabin dreaming of the days when Thomas Lincoln was lord of the surrounding acres and the provider for the family that was sheltered by the old building. There was a growing conviction, as I studied the structure of the cabin from time to time, that it was different from the other pioneer homes which I had observed. I realized that it was smaller, but that did not seem to answer the query with which I was confronted. Apparently it was a question of symmetry. The cabin appeared to be much too wide for its depth.

I had occasion one day to call on Mr. Davenport, who at one time had owned the old building when it stood on his farm. He has erected over the cellar, where the cabin originally stood, a frame building which he advised me was the same size as the Lincoln cabin, and which was built on the same foundation. This building measured eighteen feet in width and sixteen feet in depth. That same day I visited the Lincoln Farm and found the cabin within the memorial building to measure seventeen feet in width and twelve feet in depth.

I have before me now the dimensions of fifty pioneer cabins all built before the date of Abraham Lincoln's birth.[55] Five of these cabins are double structures,

forty-five feet in width and eighteen or twenty feet in depth. The smallest single cabin in the compilation, and there is but one of the dimension, measures at fourteen feet by fourteen feet. With but few exceptions these single cabins measure eighteen by sixteen feet, which seems to be a standard size for cabins of that early day. This is in all probability the size of the Lincoln cabin at the time it was occupied by the father of the president.

It is not strange that an old log building should lose something by deterioration during its life of more than a century. In moving it about for exhibition purposes it would naturally be exposed to many elements that would hasten its decay. This does not explain why it has lost so much in depth. Evidently at some time after the removal of the building from the Davenport farm, and before its final deposit within the Memorial Building, the side logs lost one foot each and the end logs were shortened four feet. All these logs show evidence of having been sawed off at no very early date. The writer does not attempt to fix the responsibility for the mutilation of this national treasure.

In "Collier's" for February 12, 1909, one may read the following:

> The cradle home of such a man is too precious a part of the world's archives to be allowed to crumble away through thoughtless and inconsiderate neglect. As an object lesson of what man has done and what man may do is it not worth our while tenderly to care for and protect the few crude logs that have such vital national association. . . . More than 100,000 citizens of Lincoln's country have contributed an aggregate of over a hundred thousand dollars that this first home might not perish from the earth.

In the deed of conveyance under which the United States of America accepted the farm and its appurtenances, after the Lincoln cabin had been enshrined in the Memorial Building prepared for it, is to be found this clause: "The party of the second part, the United States of America, agrees to protect and preserve the said lands, buildings, and appurtenances, and especially the log cabin in which Abraham Lincoln was born, and the Memorial Hall enclosing the same from spoliation, destruction, and further disintegration." [56] We have no fear that the United States will betray this trust. It is to be regretted that the custodians of the Lincoln cabin, from the time of its removal from the Davenport farm to its installation in the Memorial Hall, had not been placed under the same obligation.

Since there is no possible chance of restoring the cabin to its original size, one may ask if the information here revealed is of any vital importance and should not rather be suppressed. There has recently been erected by Miss Mary Forbes on her estate at 215 Adams Street in Milton, Massachusetts, a replica of the Lincoln cabin. She thought the size of the cabin to be of such great importance that she sent the architect to Hodgenville that he might get the exact dimensions.[57] This is indicative of the interest shown by the modern student of Lincoln, in his attempt to create a historical environment for the president. The facts concerning the Lincoln cabin should be known in the first place for the sake of historical accuracy. They should also be known in justice to the parents of Abraham Lincoln, who provided for their son a home not unlike the other cabin homes of their

neighbors, in spite of the statement of a conservative biographer that "even among such cabins as abounded in primitive Kentucky the Lincoln home was humble."

It was the advertised intention of the Lincoln Farm Association to reproduce as far as possible the environment in which Abraham Lincoln was born. This was a worthy object, but it has not been realized. Of the actual holdings in possession of Thomas Lincoln, consisting of 348½ acres by later surveys, but 100 acres are in the possession of the Government. These 100 acres are by far the poorest part of the entire farm. With the log cabin itself about two thirds the size of the original cabin, one cannot feel that the present Lincoln National Park and the Memorial Hall create a historic background. No longer can we take seriously such statements as this one, which appears in that most excellent work by Nicolay and Hay: "In the midst of the most unpromising circumstances that ever witnessed the advent of a boy into the world Abraham Lincoln was born." [58]

There should be a desire on the part of Lincoln historians to create for Honest Abe an honest reproduction of the homestead that sent him out into the world. It was the lack of just such evidence as we now have that has caused every community with a tumble-down cabin to claim the birthplace of Abraham Lincoln.

CHAPTER VI

THE NATIVITY

I was born February 12th, 1809.
LINCOLN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY WRITTEN FOR FELL, 1859.

IF the Lincoln family had entertained all the guests whom tradition claims as present at the time of Abraham's birth there would have been no room for the mother and child in the inn. Some of the traditional visitors at the nativity of our president are herewith introduced: Mrs. Thomas Sparrow, Dennis Friend Hanks, Mrs. Elizabeth Hall Hanks, Mr. and Mrs. Isom Enlow, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Gollaher, an "old granny-woman," Mrs. Conrad Walters, Mrs. Jacob Keith. These may be conveniently grouped as follows: the Gollahers, the Enlows, the neighbors, and the relatives.

The study of the genesis of Abraham Lincoln contained in the preceding chapters has revealed that he had an intelligent ancestry, and honorable paternity, a virtuous mother, and a birthplace that compared favorably with that of the average pioneer. We shall now bring documentary evidence to bear on the purely traditional accounts of his nativity. Much has been said about the extreme poverty and wretched domestic surroundings amid which he was ushered into the world. We hope by the use of public records to remove a mass of rubbish which

has accumulated before the cabin door, and which still obstructs an approach to the actual conditions surrounding the nativity of the president.

There is no phase of Lincoln's childhood in Kentucky which has been exaggerated to so great an extent as his nativity. "The Deliverance," a chapter in a book by Roger Gore, was used as source material for the Kentucky scenes in the "Dramatic Life of Abraham Lincoln," a photoplay produced by the Rockett-Naylor Production Company. The "Evening Mail," commenting on this picture, states that the composer "has begun her narrative long before the birth of Abraham in the lowly cabin of Kentucky, and has fashioned it as far as we can see, without a solitary deviation from fact." [1] The writer, after witnessing this film on two occasions, is convinced that, so far as the Kentucky history of the Lincolns is concerned, it is properly to be regarded as fiction, and this is especially true of the nativity.

Lincoln's Birthday

One writer has attacked directly, and several others indirectly, the date of Lincoln's birth, as generally observed. James A. Cathey makes the statement that the "family record of Abraham's birth is purely a matter of tradition." He further charges that the date as recorded in the family Bible originally read "February 12, 1806," but that it was made to read "February 12, 1809." [2] The purpose here is to place the birthday before the marriage of Thomas and Nancy to fortify the charge of illegitimacy against the president.

The earlier records in the Bible were probably written by Abraham himself on some day later than December 13, 1847. Two more entries were made by Lincoln in 1851. With reference to his own birth, he wrote, "Abraham Lincoln son of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln was born Feb. 12, 1809." [3] There is no evidence that this record has been changed or mutilated in any way.

We are not dependent on the family Bible to settle the date of Lincoln's birth. In a letter written on April 2, 1848, he says, "I am now in my fortieth year." [4] This is perhaps the first reference to his age which we have over his own signature; it is in harmony with the Bible entry. Another letter written in 1860 contains the statement, "I was born Feb. 12, 1809." [5] Sketches prepared for Fell, Scripps, and Hicks in 1859 and 1860 make the same affirmations as in the letter written in 1860. The sketch prepared for Scripps also carries the information that the removal of the family to Indiana was "in the autumn of 1816, Abraham then being in his eighth year." [6] There is no discrepancy in the many exhibits which refer to the birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

Sunday, February 12, 1809

With the date of the president's birth established, the day of the week on which he was born might not be of any consequence from the historian's point of view. An attempt to learn the weather conditions on the day in question might also appear to be wasted effort. These two factors, however, are very important in the discussion of Abraham Lincoln's nativity.

It is not difficult to learn that February 12, 1809, fell on Sunday. The county court order-books for February 13, 1809, carry the heading, "Monday, February 13, 1809." [7] Old newspaper files are also an authentic source in this investigation.

We might expect the biographers to speak of any February day as a cold winter's day. Mr. Gore, however, asserts that "Abraham Lincoln came into the world on the wings of a blizzard,—across the battle fields of ice and snow in the roar of the hurricane—frozen and starved." This terrible storm, so the same authority says, after a lull, began in all its fury again on Saturday morning and continued until Sunday night, "the stiff wind blowing the dry snow from the hills, filling the hollows, and drifting deep along the fields." This storm made "the trails deeply hidden and treacherous." A blizzard lasting several days, which "drove cattle and game to the slaughter-pens of the storm," would leave some trace of its severity for at least a day after it cleared.[8]

The writer has in his collection part of an old diary for the year 1795, in which is entered the weather condition for each day. He has not been fortunate enough to find one for the year 1809. Evidence is available nevertheless to invalidate the account of the weather conditions on February 12, 1809. The following day was county court day in both Hardin and Washington Counties. Five magistrates were present in each county, some of them having traveled more than twenty miles to reach the county seats. No postponements due to impossible traveling conditions are noted. Widows and orphans were there to transact business, and in the Washington

County Court alone there were thirty-six orders recorded —a very busy day for any court. There is nothing in the procedure of either of these courts which would indicate an abnormal weather situation such as has been suggested. With deep snow-drifts and treacherous trails confronting him, the magistrate would not likely get up and make an early start to be in town at the opening of the court. Court often convened for more than a week, and a day later better traveling conditions would exist. On Tuesday, however, in the Washington County Court but three magistrates were present where five had been in attendance the day before.[9] No further comments are necessary on the severity of the blizzard which blew Abraham Lincoln into being on Sunday, February 12, 1809.

The Enlows

The name Enlow has long been associated with the nativity of Abraham Lincoln. Very recently, largely because of a photoplay featuring the nativity scene, Isom Enlow has become the hero of the occasion, rather than his son Abraham. Mary Enlow, wife of Isom, was also given a place of honor, until she was lately pushed aside by her husband, the rival nurse.

The story connected with the service rendered by Isom Enlow at the time of the birth provides the most sensational nativity scene since the birth of Christ. Blinded and half frozen by the frightful blizzard already mentioned, after losing his way, Isom came by accident upon the Lincoln cabin. He found it miserably cold, with but a few smoldering coals buried in the ashes, and not a piece

of wood in the house. He "searched everywhere in the cabin for a morsel of food but the rough shelves were as bare as the walls." He found, on a bed made of saplings, a woman, a two-year-old girl, and a baby born that morning. The mother and the little girl were "too weak from cold and hunger and illness to speak above a whisper." The baby was "blue from the cold with nothing over it but light bedclothes. The little drawn face had upon it the imprint of death." This infant was Abraham Lincoln. We shall not comment here on the validity of this story.[10]

Abraham Enlow was but one month over sixteen years of age when Abraham Lincoln was born. The part he is said to have played in the nativity is in conflict with the rôle played by his father. The setting also, including the weather, is in disagreement with the picture just drawn. The story is found in many forms, which fact is very much against it in any form. One point in which all the traditions agree is easily proved to be untenable: with one exception all the informants are agreed that Abraham Enlow was on his way to Kirkpatrick's mill with a "turn of corn on the morning of February 12, 1809," when he met Thomas Lincoln and rendered some service relative to securing help.[11]

We have already discovered that February 12 fell on Sunday. We have learned enough about the religious practices of both the Kirkpatricks and the Enlows to convince us that Abraham Enlow's journey to the mill on Sunday was very improbable. Isom Enlow would not have sent his son to mill on Sunday, and if he had, Kirkpatrick would not have received the corn. We shall not attempt to follow the tradition further in its many details

except to remark that Thomas Lincoln did not need to borrow the horse Abraham Enlow was alleged to have been riding, as he owned two horses himself.

Mary Enlow, wife of Isom and mother of Abraham, was often called to assist on occasions similar to that of the nativity. It is possible that she was summoned after the birth of the child, but of this supposition we have no proof. We do know that the details of the story about her son's part as the messenger cannot be true. As there seems to be some doubt just who was sent for when Thomas Lincoln and Abraham Enlow had their traditional conference on the morning of Abraham Lincoln's birth, we shall be obliged to eliminate Mary and the other Enlows from any part in the nativity program. [12]

The Enlow family may have been of some assistance to the Lincolns when Thomas, the second son, was born. The relative locations of the homes at this time suggest a possible contact.

The Gollahers

The Gollaher family consisted of Thomas and his wife and a son Austin. This boy was four years old when Abraham Lincoln was born.[13] He has been known as the childhood playmate of Abraham. The Gollaher story is a sequel to the Isom Enlow narrative, and is propounded by the same author. After Isom has built a fire in the Lincoln cabin and made soup out of some "wild turkey grease which he used to clean the rifles of his gun," and which he happens to have in a jar in his pocket, he feeds his three patients and awaits guests. As might be

expected, they appear as three wise men from the east, although one happens to be a woman and another a mule. While they did not bring gold, frankincense, and myrrh, they did bring, according to Mr. Gore, "sacks containing corn meal and bacon and dried apples and peaches, roots of sassafras bushes for tea, butter and eggs and bed clothing." [14]

The herald of the version of this story which features Mr. Isom Enlow and Mr. and Mrs. Gollaher and the beast of burden is Austin Gollaher. According to Austin, his mother had anticipated the arrival of the baby and had guessed to a day the advent of the child. She and her husband and the pack-animal arrived just in time to be of service. The reader has probably wondered what has become of Thomas Lincoln during all this time. He is said to have been away from home at Elizabethtown on business. This does not explain why he should leave his wife, about to become a mother, alone with a two-year-old child, with no food or fuel in the house. This with other internal evidence in itself would condemn the whole Isom Enlow-Gollaher story of the nativity.

We shall now see just how much the Gollahers did know about the birth of Abraham Lincoln. The collection of Colonel Durrett, which has come to our rescue many times when apparently unsolvable problems have presented themselves, is our chief source of information at this time, although we can support by further evidence the records found there. On May 12, 1886, thirty-five years before the publication of the above tradition by Mr. Gore, A. M. Brown, originally of Elizabethtown, wrote Mr. Durrett as follows:

One day this past week I saw Austin Gollaher the only man in Larue County who claims to have known Lincoln. He has no knowledge of where Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married and only knows from rumor where Abraham Lincoln was born. Gollaher says he himself was born in 1805, that in 1812 his father came to Hardin County and located on one of the headwaters of Knob Creek, that when he located on Knob Creek Old Thomas Lincoln and his son Abraham were living near the mouth of the creek and that he and Abraham went to school together.[15]

Before finding the above record the writer had drawn the conclusion that the Gollahers did not arrive in Hardin County until after the birth of Abe. The Hardin County tax books for the years 1809, 1810, and 1811 do not show the name of Gollaher, but in the year 1812 the name of Thomas Gollaher appears. The following year the names of Joseph and Thomas Gollaher appear, and the name of Thomas Gollaher then appears until the Lincolns leave the country in 1816.[16] This evidence shows that there was no Gollaher in the county until three years after the nativity of Lincoln, which would make Austin Gollaher a rather poor witness.

The Neighbors

There were two neighbors of the Lincolns who we feel sure would call at the cabin by the spring as soon as they learned that a baby boy had arrived. Peggy Walters, wife of Conrad Walters, was only twenty years old when Abraham was born, but she was already a mother.[17] Rebecca Keith, wife of Jacob Keith, was born the same year Nancy Lincoln was born, but she too was a mother.[18] These two young women were neighbors of the Lincolns,

and although they lived about three quarters of a mile away, this distance was no barrier to their offering their services on an occasion like this. Both of these women claim to have been present at the Lincoln cabin when Abraham was born. It is very likely that they were there shortly after the child was born, and we should expect other neighbors to hurry to the cabin as soon as they heard the news. Mrs. Keith was a daughter of Mrs. Isom Enlow by her first husband, so that the family of Mary Enlow had at least one representative there.[19]

One tradition has it that an "old granny-woman" who lived in the community was brought in to assist Nancy. It is strange that any one who rendered service to Abraham Lincoln should go so long unnamed. The fact that this unknown character is unnamed is very good evidence that there was no such person.[20] It is very doubtful if Nancy had any professional attention at this time either in nursing or in medical care.

The Relatives

If there were relatives of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy living near the South Fork home, we may feel assured that they were present at the nativity of the president. There is evidence that two families related to Nancy were living within two miles of the Lincoln cabin. We may take it for granted, without the affidavit of anybody, that Thomas and Elizabeth Sparrow and their adopted child Dennis Friend Hanks, also Jesse Friend and his wife Polly Hanks Friend, and their children, were the first visitors at the cabin after the birth of Abraham. What the

writer feels to be the most authentic story of the nativity is given by Dennis Hanks as reported by Eleanor Atkinson in her book on "The Boyhood of Lincoln":

> Thomas Lincoln lived on a farm in Hardin County about two miles from us when Abe was born. I ricollect Tom comin' over to our house one cold mornin' in Feb'uary an' sayin' kind o' slow an' sheepish: "Nancy's got a boy baby!" Mother got flustered and hurried up her work to go over to look after the little feller, but I didn' have nothin' to wait fur, so I just tuk and run the hull two miles to see my new cousin. Nancy was layin' thar in a pole bed lookin' purty happy. Tom'd built up a good fire and throwed a b'ar skin over the kivers to keep 'em warm. . . . You bet I was tickled to death. Babies wasn't as plentiful as blackberries in the woods o' Kentucky. Mother came over an' washed him an' put a yaller flannen petticoat an' a linsey shirt on him, an' cooked some dried berries with wild honey fur Nancy, an' slicked things up an' went home. An' that's all the nuss'n either of 'em got.[21]

There was one relative among the traditional guests at the nativity that we shall have to exclude. In a recent magazine article, Dunham Wright, whose grandfather William Hanks was a brother of Mrs. Sparrow and Mrs. Friend, says that his grandmother Elizabeth Hall Hanks assisted Nancy at the time of Abraham's birth.[22] Evidently Mr. Wright has confused his grandmother with Elizabeth Hanks Sparrow. His own grandmother was living at that time with her husband William Hanks at the Falls of Rough near the Grayson-Breckenridge county lines forty miles away.[23] Thomas could not have pulled the latch-string on Mrs. William Hanks's door early on the morning of February 12, 1809, and advised her that Nancy had a baby boy. Neither was she close enough

to respond to a call at this time. This task was left to her sisters-in-law who lived close by.

If the writer was to suggest those who were present at the hour the child was born he would include, besides the mother, two persons, Thomas Lincoln the father and Sarah their little girl. If anybody was staying with Nancy at the time it would have been Elizabeth Sparrow. Elizabeth had no children of her own and could have rendered assistance if it was thought her presence was necessary. We are positive, however, that she was not there, because Dennis, who lived with her, certainly would have told Herndon that he was in the cabin with his foster-mother the night Lincoln was born if such had been the case.

Naming the Baby

This chapter on Lincoln's nativity, and Part One, presenting the genesis of Abraham Lincoln, might properly close with the naming of the baby. That he was named Abraham we are aware. Why he was named Abraham has been a question of much speculation.

The Gollaher tradition says that Isom Enlow asked Mrs. Lincoln to name the boy for his son Abraham. Other Hodgenville traditions assert that Lincoln was named for Abraham Enlow because of Enlow's courtesy to Thomas Lincoln at the time of the child's birth. Others have made inferences that the child was named Abraham because his real father was named Abraham. All of these traditions have in mind the sixteen-year-old son of Isom

Enlow as the one for whom the president was named. It is very doubtful if Nancy Lincoln had ever seen Abraham Enlow during the month or two that she and her husband had lived in the South Fork neighborhood.

Denis Hanks gives this version of the christening. He says that he asked Nancy what she was going to name the baby, and she replied, "Abraham, after his grandfather that came out of Kaintucky with Dan'l Boone." [24] Abraham Lincoln in a letter written to Solomon Lincoln on March 24, 1848, said, "It is my father's understanding that Abraham, Mordecai, and Thomas are old family names." In 1860 Lincoln wrote to George Ashmun in regard to the correct spelling of his given name. He said: "It seems as if the question of whether my first name is 'Abraham' or 'Abram' will never be settled. It is *'Abraham.'* " [25] We may conclude by saying that the sixteenth president of the United States was named *Abraham Lincoln* after his grandfather.

Part Two

HOME INFLUENCES

CHAPTER VII

THE HISTORICAL THOMAS LINCOLN

My father at the death of his father was but six years of age, and he grew up literally without education.

LINCOLN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY WRITTEN FOR FELL, 1859.

IN the chapter of Lincoln's paternity we presented a chronological history of Thomas Lincoln, from his initial appearance in the public records up to the time of Abraham Lincoln's birth. It is the purpose of this chapter to continue the chronological history of Thomas Lincoln, beginning with the year following the president's birth and concluding with the removal of the Lincoln family to Indiana. These two chapters will allow the reader to follow Thomas, by the use of public records, from the time of his enlistment in the militia in 1795 to his removal from Kentucky in 1816.

1810: THE LINCOLN NEIGHBORS

The only source of information we have relative to the Lincolns for the year 1810 is the tax-books for the year.[1] The population of the country had increased at this time to such proportions that several books were needed to record the necessary entries. Fortunately they were distributed to commissioners in different districts. This enables us to determine the groups living in certain

communities. It is essential that we note some of the South Fork neighbors of Thomas Lincoln at this time. A question will arise relative to the residence of Thomas in 1811, which will largely depend upon our findings here.

The book in which Thomas is listed also shows the following names: John Close, owner of the mill on South Fork; Richard Creal, who later bought the property adjacent to the Lincoln home; Jacob Keith, husband of Rebecca Keith, who is said to have been present at the nativity of Abraham; George Brownfield, an alleged paternal aspirant of Abraham; Isaac Friend, a brother of another paternal aspirant; Richard Mather, the original owner of the Lincoln Farm; Squire Larue, who lived on an adjacent farm; Conrad Walters, husband of Peggy Walters, said to have been present at the birth of Abraham; John Hodgen, owner of Hodgen's Mill; Thomas Sparrow, relative of Mrs. Nancy Lincoln; and Charles Friend, connected with the Hanks family through the paternity of Dennis Friend Hanks.

1811: The Brief Residence

Every biographer of Lincoln has estimated the duration of the residence of the family at the place of Abraham's birth as at least four years. The writer is the first to definitely establish the limit of this residence as two years. The first evidence that offered itself toward the solution of the problem was the commissioners' books for 1811.[2] When the writer had become acquainted with the names of those who lived in the South Fork community, it was very evident from the records that Thomas Lincoln had

removed to another community. There was a new group associated with him, and the lands held by his new neighbors showed the watercourse most often mentioned to be Knob Creek, rather than South Fork of Nolin.

What caused this removal we are not able to say, but from the litigation into which Thomas was drawn relative to the title of the farm he had purchased, we should infer that this suit had something to do with it. There is no evidence, however, from which we may conclude why Thomas should have a farm of three hundred acres and move to another site where he would be obliged to pay rent. It must be granted that the Knob Creek bottoms where Thomas took up his residence were much more productive than the birthplace farm.

The New Community

Mark Twain has characterized the South Fork farm as "The little model farm that raised a man." If he had changed the word "raised" to "sprouted" it would have been more in keeping with what actually took place. His characterization would have been more appropriately applied to the Knob Creek home to which Abraham's parents moved in 1811. It was in this new community that most of his childhood days in Kentucky were spent.

From the commissioners' books we learn that the group with which Thomas Lincoln is listed on July 20, 1811, contains a large number of people living in the Knob Creek community.[3] These are names which we shall meet in further study of the new location: Jonathan

Joseph, Nathaniel and Elizabeth Owens, Thomas Price, Daniel Vittertow, and William Ash. We are not entirely dependent on one record, however, to establish the fact that the Lincolns were living on Knob Creek as early as July 20, 1811. Another document allows us to push the date of the arrival on Knob Creek back as early as May 11 of the same year. This entry is an estray notice issued at the request of Thomas Lincoln, advertising the finding of a gray mare: "Taken up by Thomas Lincoln in Hardin County on Knob Creek on the road leading from Bardstown to Nolin." It was signed on May 11, 1811.[4]

This notification does not imply, as might be inferred, that the horse was taken up on "the road leading from Bardstown to Nolin," but that the person advertising lived at the place named. This advertisement would allow the owner to locate his property.

1812: The Family Physician

It was probably during this year that Thomas Lincoln secured the services of Dr. Daniel Potter of Elizabethtown. Sometime previous to 1817, when the Potter estate was settled, Thomas had paid a doctor's bill.[5] The service rendered must have been between the arrival of Dr. Potter in Hardin County during the year 1811, and his death in 1814.[6] We choose 1812 as a possible date because of the tradition relative to the death of the baby Thomas Lincoln, Jr. There is a possibility that the doctor's bill Thomas Lincoln paid was for service rendered during the illness of this child.

1813: The First Land-Title Difficulty

It was in the month of September, 1813, that we first found Lincoln having difficulty with the title to the South Fork farm. On September 1, he was made the defendant, with David Vance and Isaac Bush, in a suit brought by the original owner to recover payment on a note which Mather alleged was due him from Vance. The papers in the suit allow us to follow in some detail the progress of this trial. A brief summary of the court proceedings for the year may be in order here. The suit was brought on September 1, 1813; and on September 7, Thomas Lincoln filed his answer to the complainant's bill; a summons had been issued for his appearance on September 6, Mather on September 13 filed a reply to the answer of Thomas Lincoln, and also to the answer of Isaac Bush, who had with Lincoln answered the complainant's bill.[7]

1814: Appointed an Appraiser of Estate

One of Thomas Lincoln's neighbors, Jonathan Joseph, passed away early in 1814, and Thomas Lincoln was appointed by the Hardin Court to act as one of the appraisers of the estate. The order of the court issued on Monday, May 9, 1814, reads as follows:

> Ordered that Isom Enlows, Joseph La Follette, Daniel Vittetow, and Thomas Lincoln or any three of them, do after being sworn before any magistrate of this county, appraise the personal estate and slaves if any of Jonathan Joseph, deceased, and make report to court.[8]

The above-mentioned Joseph La Follette is the great-grandfather of the late Senator Robert M. La Follette.

On a farm map of Larue County, published in 1899 the following LaFollett names are found which designate families close to Knob Creek: D. LaFollett, T. LaFollett, L. LaFollett, Jno. LaFollett and Jef. LaFollett.[9]

Purchases Stock at Sale

We have records of two sales which Thomas attended during 1814. One of these was cried on October 10.[10] Thomas Lincoln made two purchases at this sale. There were three heifers sold, one at $5.75, another at $7.19½, and the other at $9.42½. This last and highest priced heifer was bought by Thomas Lincoln. The widow, Sarah Joseph, bought most of the property, but aside from her purchases, the $9.42½ purchase by Thomas Lincoln was the largest of the entire sale. There were forty items recorded on the sale bill. Thomas Lincoln also made another purchase at this sale, paying 63 cents for a currying-comb.

The inventory of Thomas Hill's sale held on July 19, 1814, shows, among the several purchasers, Thomas Lincoln, who bought "1 truck wagon" and paid $.08⅓ for it.[11] The writer pondered a long while over this entry to make sure that he was copying just what the record said. We do not think that he bought a four-wheeled wagon or a two-wheeled wagon that could be used for any kind of hauling. We wonder if he could have purchased a small home-made wagon for a child.

The Mill Creek Farm Sold

As early as April 23, 1814, it is evident that Thomas Lincoln contemplated selling the Mill Creek Farm. The

deed for the 230 acres had not been taken from the court-house since the purchase of the land in 1803. On the date in April above mentioned, Thomas called at the Hardin County Courthouse, and the deed was delivered to him.[12] While Thomas listed this farm for taxes in 1803, he did not list it again until 1809. It then appears on the commissioners' book every year until 1815. It is likely that during these five years during which it was not listed it had been leased to William Brumfield, Lincoln's brother-in-law, who took care of the taxes.

Thomas Lincoln sold this farm to Charles Melton on October 27, 1814.[13] He signed the deed of conveyance by writing his signature, but his wife Nancy Lincoln, who was apparently unable to write, made her mark. The present owner of this farm is a direct descendant of this same Charles Melton who made the purchase in 1803. Although the part of the farm on which the home is located had never passed out of the family since the purchase from Lincoln, none of them knew that the Lincolns had held possession of the tract until they were so informed by the writer.

1815: Purchased Land on Knob Creek

It is very likely that Thomas Lincoln used the money which he received from the sale of the Mill Creek property to purchase some land on Knob Creek. On the commissioners' book for 1815 Thomas enters "30 acres Knob Creek."[14] The writer is inclined to believe that this is a mistake in copying and that the record should have read "230 acres." The size of the Lindsey tract on

Knob Creek where Thomas Lincoln lived was 230 acres. That Thomas had possession of this farm we cannot doubt, as it is revealed in a suit over the title. If there is any land in Larue County that will grow corn year after year, it is the Knob Creek bottoms. Not only will these fertile tracts produce corn and clover, but the best alfalfa crop that the writer has ever seen in Kentucky was on one of these tracts that once comprised a part of the Lincoln Knob Creek Farm.

There has appeared consistently in biographies a story that Thomas sold the Knob Creek Farm for ten barrels of whisky and twenty dollars in money. The writer has traced the story back to a book written in a popular vein by William M. Thayer in 1863.[15] Virtually all of the early writers took the story over, and many of the present biographers accept it. Its fallacy is revealed by papers in an ejectment suit which shows that the farm went back to Lindsey and was sold at a commissioners' sale to William Bush.[16]

The Increase of His Stock

From the time Lincoln came of age until he left the State for Indiana it is doubtful if he was ever without at least one horse. His first entry of horse-flesh was in 1799, when he listed two for taxes.[17] From then until 1812, with the exception of the years 1803 and 1806, he entered either one or two each year. Three horses were listed in 1812, but in 1813 he went back to two. The following year he entered three again. In this year

1815 which we are discussing he entered four horses, one of them a stallion.[18]

We have reason to believe that Thomas, like his neighbors, had cattle, swine, and sheep and that the stock which he kept would compare favorably with his neighbors', increasing from year to year.

1816: The Verdict in the Mather Suit

In January, 1816, the plaintiff Richard Mather began to press his suit against Lincoln. The amended answer, made by Thomas Lincoln two years before, was on January 22, 1816, filed without prejudice to the cause. Three days later the replication of Richard Mather was filed. On September 12, 1816, "the court now being sufficiently advised," found for the plaintiff Mather. The decree called for the payment by David Vance of sixty-one dollars and costs to Richard Mather. Thomas Lincoln was to recover two hundred dollars from Bush, and Bush was to recover two hundred dollars from Vance.

On December 19, the farm was sold by a commissioner, Benjamin Wright, and the three hundred acres was disposed of "for ready money amounting to eighty-seven dollars and seventy-four cents." John Welsh was the purchaser, and on the same day Wright turned over the money to Richard Mather and returned to the court a receipt for it. John Merrifield was a witness to the receipt.[19] It is possible that Thomas Lincoln was present at the sale. His interest in the farm had now passed, but he may have waited to witness the passing of the title.

Tries to Collect His Two Hundred Dollars

After the decree in the suit brought by Mather against Lincoln, Bush, and Vance, it became necessary for Thomas Lincoln to enter a cross-bill against Bush, and for Bush to proceed in the same way against Vance, in order that the two hundred dollars invested by each might be recovered. While the cross-bill of Thomas Lincoln was not filed until January 21, 1817, we are not to conclude that Thomas was still a resident of Hardin County. An indorsement on the back of the bill, prepared by Lincoln's attorney and dated November 11, 1816, is probably the last date on which we can positively say that Thomas Lincoln was in Kentucky. The indorsement reads as follows:

Nelson County Court
This day Thomas Lincoln came before me and made oath that the statements within made are true.

Another indorsement on the same paper reads:

N.B. Lincoln has deposited in my hands $2.50 to pay the printer.[20]

It is very likely the last official act that Thomas Lincoln performed in Kentucky was to pay out this $2.50. We note that this paper is stamped with a Nelson County seal and that Thomas Lincoln must have been in Nelson County at the time of the indorsements. The attorney, Richard Rudd, was a Bardstown lawyer of note. It is likely that Thomas was busy with affairs relative to the Knob Creek ejectment suit, which had been transferred to the Nelson County Court, and that while there he had

engaged Rudd to collect the two hundred dollars. There is no record to show that Lincoln ever collected this two hundred dollars, and he was probably the real loser in the South Fork deal.

Appointed Road Surveyor

There is certainly no record referring to Thomas Lincoln in Kentucky that has been given more publicity than the one to which we now refer. On Monday, May 13, 1816, the part of the road leading from Nolin to Bardstown which lies between the "Bigg" Hill and the Rolling Fork was placed under the jurisdiction of Thomas Lincoln.[21] Lincoln evidently supervised the care of this road until he left for Indiana, as we find no successor appointed to take his place until the following spring. On April 14, 1817, Peter Atherton is appointed "Surveyor of that part of the road leading from said Atherton's ferry to Joseph Kirkpatrick's Mill which lies between the said ferry and the foot of the Big Hill in place of Thomas Lincoln, and that all the hands that assisted said Lincoln, do assist Atherton in keeping road in repair." [22]

Bondsman for Abraham's Teacher

We have the testimony from the lips of Abraham Lincoln himself that as a boy he went to school in Kentucky to two teachers, the first Zachariah Riney, and the second Caleb Hazel. On October 12, 1816, the name of Thomas Lincoln appears on the marriage bond of this same Caleb Hazel. This is evidently the second marriage

of Caleb Hazel, as he had been married before to the widow of James Hall in 1786. This time his bride is Mary Stevens, and she affirms that she is "Far above the demands of the law, and under no one's jurisdiction."

The date of the bond would imply that Caleb Hazel was probably the teacher of Abraham when the marriage took place, and Abraham's father was asked to become bondsman for Caleb. It is also of interest to note that a witness to this bond was John Hills, who the following year married Lucy Lincoln.[23]

Ejectment Suit against Lincoln

It was in the latter part of 1815 that Thomas Lincoln probably had the first indication that the land on which he was located and on which he had made payments was without a good title; at any rate it was then that a suit was brought against him as a tenant in possession. He was notified in writing on September 15, 1815, that unless he could show as a defendant in the suit a claim to the title, he would be turned out of possession. Lincoln was one of ten men who had purchased parts of a ten-thousand-acre tract owned, as the plaintiffs, Stout, Sheridan, and Rhodes, affirmed, by Thomas Middleton during his lifetime, and now coming to them as his heirs. The nine neighbors of Lincoln who were sued jointly with him were Jess. LaFollett, Isaac LaFollett, Will Brownfield, Clark Tucker, Peter Minges, Job Dye, George Redmond, William Ash, and Ignatius Strange.

Of these ten ejectment suits the plaintiffs decided to

make the Lincoln suit a test case. The indorsement on the back of the original bill gives a brief summary of the suit and its progress. On December 27, 1815, Thomas Lincoln was given a copy of the bill against him. On February 12, 1816, the suit was filed by Samuel Haycraft. At the March term the case was continued in order that depositions might be taken. At the June term George Lindsey was made co-defendant with Lincoln on the suit, a survey ordered for the plaintiff, and depositions ordered to be taken. In September the case was continued again; and when Thomas Lincoln left Kentucky this was the status of the suit.[24]

Land-Title Difficulties

In the sketch that Abraham Lincoln prepared for Mr. Scripps he said: "From this place [Knob Creek Farm] he [Thomas Lincoln] removed to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in the autumn of 1816, Abraham then being in his eighth year. This removal was partly on account of slavery, but chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles."

Abraham Lincoln said that the chief reason for his father's leaving Kentucky was his difficulty with land-titles. Some may prefer to accept the conclusion of Lamon, who contends that the removal of Thomas was due to a fight with Abraham Enlow.[25] Others may feel that Snider is correct when he observes that the inability of Thomas to meet payments on his land was responsible for the invitation he received from the owner of the prop-

erty to vacate the premises.[26] Still others may agree with Stephenson that Thomas was an incurable vagrant and could no longer impose himself upon the community.[27] As for me and my house, we prefer to believe that Honest Abe told the truth about the cause of the removal.

Thomas had secured titles to three farms which he purchased in good faith. The first one, when he came to sell it, had lost thirty-eight acres and represented a loss to him of eighteen pounds. The second farm he bought for cash and a small obligation. He later learned that the obligation was larger than had been represented, and the holder of the title demanded money instead of merchandise such as the agreement called for. While it was ordered that Lincoln receive back the two hundred dollars he had put into the place, when he left Kentucky he had received nothing, and had paid out money to defend the suit. The third tract he purchased, whether it be thirty acres or two hundred and thirty, he lost through a suit of ejectment, or at least he thought he had when he left Kentucky, as he had at that time been unable to collect his costs in the case. These land transactions were enough to make a man seek a country where he could be sure of a good title, and Thomas Lincoln had come to the conclusion that Indiana offered such an opportunity.

The traditional Thomas Lincoln has served biographers long and well. He has given them a sensational setting for the nativity of the president. He has been the scapegoat for their paternal aspirants. He has been the worthless vagabond who married Nancy Hanks. We must now bury the traditional Thomas Lincoln in "the stagnant, putrid pool" discovered by William Herndon, and intro-

duce to future biographers the historical Thomas Lincoln of Hardin County, who through all these thirty-four years spent in Kentucky has not one black mark against his good name.

CHAPTER VIII

THE HOME LIFE

You suggest that a visit to the place of my nativity might be pleasant to me. Indeed it would.

LINCOLN'S LETTER TO SAMUEL HAYCRAFT, 1860.

IN developing the argument of this chapter we shall think of certain hereditary and environmental influences which must have found expression in the life of Abraham Lincoln. While there were but two homes in Kentucky which directly influenced Abraham as a child, his parents were occupying still another home during his prenatal days. Although the writer does not aspire to present any new axioms in child study, he is going to venture a suggestion with reference to parental contributions to child life; namely, that parents who are normal—mentally, physically and morally—would make their greatest mental contribution before birth, their maximum physical contribution during infancy, and their most lasting moral contributions in childhood. There may be some overlapping in point of time in the first two contributions. When, however, we consider the physical welfare of the child during the dangerous first two years of life, thinking of nutrition, sanitation, parental care, and so on, we shall favor the sequence presented. These contributions will be emphasized in studying the three

Kentucky homes of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks Lincoln.

Physical Surroundings

Those who have accepted the traditions that asperse the character of Thomas Lincoln have found it necessary to make his abode "a squalid camp in a howling wilderness." [1] The reference to the Lincoln homes in Kentucky usually have in mind but a single cabin, while those who have recognized more than one home classify them all as of the same general character. Two or three excerpts will be used here to reveal the usual portrait of the Lincoln shelter and of the condition of its occupants. Peters says that Lincoln was reared "in gripping, grinding, pinching penury and pallid poverty, amid the most squalid destitution possible to conceive." [2] Morse, speaking of the environment of the child, mentions "rough, coarse, low, ignorant and poverty stricken surroundings." [3]

To get back to the source of virtually all of these purely imaginary descriptions we shall have to charge Herndon and Lamon with the responsibility. Lamon, who has been the chief instigator in defaming the character of Thomas Lincoln, gives us a description of the first home to which Thomas took Nancy when they were married in 1806:

> Lincoln took Nancy to live in a shed on one of the alleys of Elizabethtown. It was a very sorry building, and nearly bare of furniture. It stands yet, or did in 1866, to witness for itself the wretched poverty of its early inmates. It is about fourteen

feet square, it has been three times removed, twice used as a slaughter house, and once as a stable.[4]

How men of even common intelligence who really wanted to present a true picture of the Lincoln cabin, could draw upon this description as even suggestive of the original home, we cannot understand. Lamon admits that it had been three times removed before occupying the final site on the alley in 1866. He does not hesitate, however, to state that it originally stood on an alley sixty years before. The assumption at least would be that it had formerly occupied a more favorable site. He states that it had been used twice as a slaughter-house and once a stable, yet affirms that after these depredations it witnessed for itself the wretched poverty of its early inmates. Although it was sixty years after the residence of the Lincolns in Elizabethtown that this cabin was held up as a facsimile of the Lincoln cabin, Lamon assumes that when the Lincolns lived there it was a very sorry building and nearly bare of furniture. His deductions in this entire paragraph are unwarranted.

We have one more count against Lamon; or perhaps this charge should be lodged against Herndon, whose data Lamon used. Where did Herndon get the information that this was the cabin to which Thomas Lincoln took his bride, Nancy Hanks? He got it on his visit to Elizabethtown in 1865, through his interview with Presley Haycraft; or he secured it through correspondence with either Samuel Haycraft, Jr., or John B. Helm. It does not make any difference which one of these men was his

informant, as they all had the same theory. They believed Sally Bush Lincoln to have been the wife of Thomas during his Elizabethtown residence. When the Lincoln home in Elizabethtown was pointed out by any one of these three informants it would be the cabin in which Sarah Bush Johnston lived.

We are positive that the widow Johnston, after the death of her husband Daniel Johnston, purchased for twenty-five dollars one-half interest in one and one quarter acre of land and a cabin, belonging to Samuel Haycraft, Sr.[5] This cabin originally stood on Haycraft Alley not more than three hundred feet from the site on Race Alley occupied by the cabin in 1866. I have the affidavit of an old gentlemen who took me to the very spot on Haycraft Alley where the Johnston cabin originally stood.[6] He told me that his father had pointed out to him this site of the cabin in which Lincoln was born, and remembered when the old cabin was moved. His father was under the same impression at other early citizens of Elizabethtown, that Abraham Lincoln was the son of Sally Bush Johnston Lincoln and was born in Elizabethtown.

It is interesting to observe how Lamon has drawn two entirely different conclusions from what has proved to be the same cabin. With Thomas and Nancy Lincoln as its alleged occupants it was "nearly bare of furniture." [7] When Sarah Bush moved from this cabin after marrying Thomas Lincoln, her household goods consisted of "one fine bureau, one table, one set of chairs, one large clothes chest, cooking utensils, knives, forks, bedding, and other articles." [8]

Innate Tendencies

We have been able to learn, as revealed in the chapter on Lincoln's paternity, that the unborn life of Abraham Lincoln began in the home at Elizabethtown. We have also suggested that any contribution which the Elizabethtown environment made to the child Abraham must have been through tendencies inherited from the parents. This would lead us to consider briefly the cultural influences thrown about the first home, and the status of the family itself in its domestic relations. Stoddard in his picture of this first home, which he located "in the dull corner of earth's teeming surface," could hardly have been farther from the truth.[9] There was nothing dull about any of these pioneer towns.

As early as 1797 Elizabethtown had advertised a lot sale, and forty-nine lots had been sold.[10] Each purchaser was obligated to build: "A house made with a brick or stone chimney with a shingle roof, at least sixteen by eighteen feet in the clear, and that they be erected as above described in two years from the date of purchase. The houses to be of stone, brick, framed or hewed logs." [11]

It was a house built under the above provision that Thomas and Nancy must have occupied in 1806. One authority has said that Thomas Lincoln built his own cabin. We are not now interested in this phase of the discussion, but we are sure that the first home of the Lincolns was not a shed on an alley.

In view of the recognized ability of Thomas to make some of the rough pieces of furniture needed in the cabin, we may feel assured that their home was as comfortable

and cozy as the homes of their neighbors. They had been living in Elizabethtown less than a year when Thomas Lincoln attended a sale and bought some kitchen-ware. He paid $5.92 for a dish, plates, a basin, and some spoons.[12] It speaks well of Thomas that he registered in such a public way his desire to provide some needed articles for his wife. The writer has attended many public sales in Hardin County, and even now it would take a young man with some force of character to make a bid on anything that would help the women at their tasks.

The home life of Thomas and Nancy was brightened by the arrival of a baby girl within a year after they took up their residence in Elizabethtown. This event would have a tendency to influence the provision of domestic conveniences in the home. We are positive that Thomas would have already prepared something more than a "pile of leaves" [13] on which to lay the new-born babe. When this little girl was fifteen months old, when she would be beginning to walk with some freedom and to talk with some effort, the most interesting period in infancy, the unborn life of her baby brother began.

There is no evidence that the Lincolns were unhappy in their Elizabethtown home. It is said that Lincoln "never had any money in his pocket." [14] We have observed that he was able to purchase a home for his own mother; when he needed house-lots he bought them; when he needed kitchen-ware he had money with which to purchase it; and when he decided to purchase a farm for a new home he had two hundred dollars in cash to pay for it. These conclusions are important when we consider

that the hereditary contributions which the parents made to Abraham must have been made before the removal from Elizabethtown. The attitude of mind, the domestic relations, the environment of the town, and the economic condition in the home indirectly influenced the life of Abraham Lincoln that began in the Elizabethtown cabin.

Motherly Care

The Lincolns moved to the farm on the South Fork of Nolin just in time for Abraham to be born in the country. They had been living there but two or three months when the Lincoln family was increased to four members. We shall be interested in reviewing very briefly the traditional conditions which surrounded the home in which Lincoln was born, and in placing over against them the actual conditions. As was suggested in our introductory remarks, we shall try to learn something of the contributions Lincoln's parents were able to make to his physical welfare, during their brief two years' residence on Nolin.

We may conclude from the ability of Thomas to produce money when needed that Nancy, and, indirectly, the unborn child, had not suffered from malnutrition. In other words Abraham Lincoln was a normal child and came into life with no physical defects inherited from his parents or resulting from their poverty or ignorance. On the very day of his birth, however, we must come to the defense of the Lincoln home. One writer has asserted that on the natal day the imprint of death was on the face of the child, and the mother and the little girl Sarah

were too weak from cold, hunger, and illness to speak above a whisper.

The occasion is made more critical by the statement that they were alone in the cabin, with no fuel gathered either within or without the house, and with but few dying embers in the fireplace. As for food, there was not a morsel in the cupboard. The bed-covering was scant and light.[15]

That the Gollaher family who claimed to have remembered the fearful condition of the Lincoln home at the time of Abraham's birth did not arrive in that part of the country until three years after Abraham was born, we have already shown.[16]

At the January term of court, 1809, Benjamin Helm had been ordered to pay Thomas Lincoln the sum of three pounds and ten shillings for sundry services.[17] This would supply Thomas with funds sufficient to provide for any emergency arising at this time. There is no reason for assuming that an abnormal condition existed in the Lincoln home at the time of Abraham's birth on account of the alleged poverty-stricken condition of its inmates.

Motherly care probably made the chief contribution to Abraham Lincoln during the two years spent in the cabin by the spring. The constant oversight required by a child for the first two years of its life would make Nancy Hanks Lincoln Abraham's real benefactor during these months. It is to be regretted that we do not have some trustworthy information relative to the characteristics of the mother of the president. We do have some brief

character-sketches by different biographers, but they are so contradictory in content that one hesitates to accept any of the information that is available.

The residence at the birthplace home lasted but two years. We should not expect any further influences on the child here than were supplied by the physical conditions surrounding the home. A healthy location, pure water, nourishing food for mother and child, and proper attention for the baby would be desirable. We shall be bold enough, even in the light of universal criticism, to affirm that Abraham Lincoln had all of these requisites. Nicolay and Hay, the authors of one of our most conservative and dependable works, declares "In the midst of the most unpromising circumstances that ever witnessed the advent of a child into the world, Abraham Lincoln was born." [13] In this statement at least, they are far from the truth.

Moral Attitudes

The Knob Creek home on the highway from Louisville to Nashville was the first home that Abraham remembered and the home which exerted the greatest influence on his young life.[19] This site was the most picturesque of the three home-sites that Thomas and Nancy had occupied, situated as it was between the forks of Knob Creek, the fertile bottoms extending from the home in three different directions. The knobs of mountainous proportions, with their steep inclines to the creek-bed below, offered all that nature could provide to challenge the adventurous spirit of a growing boy.

The home environment of Abraham did not stop with the log walls of the cabin, however. The nursery was under the broad elms, the dining-room, in the summer-time, a lean-to in the rear of the house, the bath-room, the clear running creek. The living-room was mostly under the blue ceiling of the heavens. If the Knob Creek home of the Lincolns was "utterly void of elevating inspirations," it would be difficult to find in all the pioneer country a region that invited young life to grow tall like the timber in the valley.

The personnel of the home after all exerted the greatest influence over Abraham. The psychologists tell us that the impulses of boy life to-day are the same as in the long ago. A boy has been and always will be a hero-worshipper, and his first hero is usually his father. When Abraham first began to take notice of his father, Thomas was thirty-five years old. We have suggested that the formation of character as it came in contact with moral values would be the chief contribution which the parents would make to the child during the remaining years of their Kentucky residence. What manner of man was Thomas Lincoln, the first hero of the president?

There is reason to believe that Thomas Lincoln lived a life that was in keeping with the strict discipline required of a member in good standing in the Baptist Church. If one will read the measures taken by the early church in Kentucky to conserve the morals of the parishioners, he will be persuaded that any man who long remained on the church book was a man in which there could not be many outstanding faults.

That Thomas Lincoln was in good fellowship with the

church we are assured by an entry which shows his transfer to the Pigeon Church in Indiana.[20] There is no record yet discovered which casts a single reflection on the moral character of Thomas Lincoln, and until such a record is presented we must concede to Abraham Lincoln the wholesome influence of a worthy father.

When the writer was living at Elizabethtown he overheard some statements that would lead one to infer that the mother of Abraham was rather a bad character. The man who told the story said that he had seen a court record indicating that Nancy Hanks—he still called her by the name Hanks—had stolen some goods, was arrested and tried, and had used insulting language to her accuser. An offer by the writer to pay well for the production of this record did not bring it to light, although the informant was well acquainted with the files in the court-house.

Later in his own research work, the writer came across a suit in which Hananiah Lincoln sued a person named Welsh for slander. It is evident that this suit grew out of an accusation that a certain Polly Enlow had stolen some calico from Mrs. Hananiah Lincoln.[21] This would be enough material to put the other story in circulation, as the Lincoln and Enlow names had previously been associated in such a way as to invite further unfavorable comment. The writer has never heard a word of reproach against the character of Nancy Lincoln in the communities where she lived, with the exception of the above groundless tradition.

From the evidence we have now on hand we must allow Abraham Lincoln a home environment that would

be conducive to good morals. In addition to the good influence of his parents we should register the inspiration of the mountain-like knobs that towered over the cabin roof, and the beautiful scenery that must have quickened the latent impulses of the youth as he spent his play-days along the banks of Knob Creek.

CHAPTER IX

THE LINCOLN CHILDREN

The present subject has no brother or sister of the whole or half blood. He had a sister older than himself, who was grown and married but died many years ago, leaving no child; also a brother younger than himself who died in infancy.

SKETCH PREPARED BY LINCOLN FOR SCRIPPS, 1860.

WHILE Thomas and Nancy Lincoln may have prayed that their first child might be a boy, they and all their kinsfolk should have thanked the Lord that it was a girl. If Abraham Lincoln had been their first born and his birth-day had been February 10, 1807, instead of February 12, 1809, the traditions now current relative to the president's legitimacy could never have been refuted. His younger brother may have died before he was old enough to recognize his parents, but his short life was of sufficient length to discredit some sinister stories about Thomas Lincoln, which were put forward with the intention of making impossible his paternal relation to Abraham. Both the first-born and the last-born of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln made real contributions to the family by defending the honorable birth of their illustrious brother.

We should not expect to find in Kentucky court records any reference to the children of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln. There was no occasion for the appointment of a

guardian, no will that would mention them, no vital statistics compiled. The children were too young, when they left Kentucky, to appear in the commissioners' book as having arrived at the age of sixteen. We must turn to other sources for information as to the number of children in the family, their names, the dates of their births, and so on.

The most important available data relative to this question is the Lincoln Family Bible. Although somewhat mutilated it still speaks with authority on several debated questions. Next in value we should place the autobiographies of the president. The letters Lincoln wrote to relatives, in which he mentioned the family, also appear as a source in this field. Some Indiana court records are available by way of reference, and the inscription on a tombstone of one of the children helps to verify the argument presented.

We might open the investigation by stating that there were three children born to Thomas and Nancy Lincoln. They will be discussed in the order of their birth.

Sarah

The traditions about this first child and only daughter of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln force us in the first place to prove that there was such a child. John E. Burton, a great admirer of the president and one of the largest collectors of Lincolniana, was of the opinion that no such child was born to Thomas and Nancy Lincoln. He held that Sarah Lincoln, who was regarded as the sister of

the president, was in reality the daughter of Sarah Johnston Lincoln, the second wife of Thomas.[1] We must admit that from a verbatim reading of the entries in the Lincoln Bible we should not be able to refute Mr. Burton's claim.

One very short sentence should be sufficient to settle the first question, it is a quotation from the autobiography which the president prepared for Scripps: "He [Abraham Lincoln] had a sister older than himself." [2] It could also be shown that while Sarah Johnston did have two daughters about the age of Thomas Lincoln's oldest child neither one of them was named Sarah. This suggestion, however, introduces us to our next problem with reference to this first-born child of the Lincolns. What was the name of the girl?

One biographer stated that this child "was called Nancy during the life of her mother and after her death, Sarah." [3] Another writer says that her foster-mother, Sarah Johnston Lincoln, was responsible for this change in names.[4]

The source of this propaganda may be traced to the mutilated part of the Bible record, plus a sinister motive in the heart of the interpreter who refused to take pains to learn the context of the missing fragment. I have before me a facsimile copy of this biographical page. A comparative study of it with other entries shows the first line of the first entry to be missing. Reading it just as it stands, however, it says:

> Nancy Lincoln was born Feb.
> 10th. 1807 [5]

A comparison with the record that follows it, which is of similar character and announces the birth of the second child, allows us to supply this line, which is supported by another entry in the Bible to which we have already referred. The supplied line would allow the complete entry to be read as follows:

> Sarah Lincoln daughter of Thomas &
> Nancy Lincoln was born Feb.
> 10th. 1807

There is no good authority for the belief that the first child of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln was ever called by any other name than Sarah. In the first place Thomas Lincoln would not have allowed such a change as has been intimated. In the second place Sarah Johnston Lincoln would not have suggested changing the name of a twelve-year-old girl who was not her own. In the third place there was no occasion for changing the name, because it was Sarah originally.

There are other biographers who admit that Abraham Lincoln had a sister named Sarah Lincoln, but they hold that she was born later, rather than earlier, than the president. One biographer presents it thus: "It was a pious act for him [Abraham Lincoln] to cover his mother's shame, so far as in his power to do so, by making his sister older than himself in the Bible record." [6] In a letter written by Abraham Lincoln to Samuel Haycraft we have evidence which not only affirms the earlier birth by a margin of more than two years but also establishes the place where Sarah was born. Lincoln wrote, "I was not born

in Elizabethtown, but my mother's first child, a daughter two years older than myself, now long deceased was." [7]

We may now return to the family Bible for the date of Sarah's birth and may feel confident that it was February 10, 1807, as herein stated. When the Lincolns left for Indiana the little girl was nine years old, and while it is not the purpose of this book to follow the Lincolns beyond the Ohio, three dates with a natural sequence might help to establish the reasonableness of the date of Sarah's birth. Sarah Lincoln was born on February 10, 1807. On August 2, 1826 she married Aaron Grigsby.[8] She died on January 20, 1828.[9]

Abraham

One of our eminent child psychologists has submitted the following periods of growth before the time of maturity is reached: infancy, to the age of six; early childhood, six to eight or nine; later childhood, eight or nine to twelve or thirteen; early adolescence, twelve or thirteen to sixteen: middle adolescence, sixteen to eighteen; and later adolescence, eighteen to maturity.[10] It is not the purpose of the writer to use this classification as the basis for a scientific discussion of the development of Abraham Lincoln, although a discussion from that point of view by some writer better qualified for the task might be worth while.

Those who have attempted to tell the story of Lincoln's childhood in Kentucky have usually made him a youth rather than a child. They have related incidents that no boy in early childhood could experience. There is no

reason to believe that Abraham Lincoln was other than a normal child. Before he reached the age of eight years there would be no opportunity for that phenomenal growth which sometimes takes place in the early years of adolescence. We cannot think of any peculiar mental gifts that set him apart from his associates as a genius, and he certainly was too young to demonstrate any marked moral trait or any disposition toward morbidness.

When we remember that Abraham Lincoln moved to Indiana with his parents as he was approaching his eighth birthday, we shall not expect directly to learn very much about him during these childhood days. It is strange what a vague idea people have of the residence of Abraham Lincoln in Kentucky. I may illustrate from a souvenir recently received. It is a piece of walnut from an old rail fence which Henry R. Hall carried in a Wide-Awake torch-light procession during the Lincoln campaign of 1860. Mrs. Sarah L. Hardin, now deceased, a daughter of this same Henry Hall, had this to say about the old piece of rail: "My father always claimed that this rail he carried was purchased by the secretary who went to Hardin County and to the former home of Abraham Lincoln and that the fence from which these six rails were taken was one of the fences for which Abraham Lincoln split the rails, and that this rail could be called a rail split by Abraham Lincoln." [11]

The only farm with which the Lincolns were associated in the public mind as early as 1860 was the present Lincoln Farm on the South Fork. When the Lincolns left this farm for the Knob Creek place Abraham was but two years old. Evidently he had not split many rails before

that date. This illustration is typical of many of the stories associated with the boy Lincoln in Kentucky. There are so many of these traditions which have been released and accepted as history that only those of the widest publicity will be considered.

So far as the writer has been able to learn, there are but two statements over the signature of Abraham Lincoln which refer to his childhood in Kentucky. One of these references is in a letter written to Samuel Haycraft, in which he remarks that "the place on Knob Creek I remember very well. . . . My earliest recollection, however, is of the Knob Creek Place." [12] This statement is significant in this, that it allows us to associate but one Kentucky residence with the experiences of the child Abraham. The writer must admit that the Knob Creek Farm made a much more picturesque playground than the South Fork home could possibly have afforded.

The other reference to his childhood we find in the autobiography prepared for Scripps. "Before leaving Kentucky he, Abraham Lincoln, and his sister were sent for short periods to A.B.C. schools, the first kept by Zachariah Riney and the second by Caleb Hazel. At this time his father resided on Knob Creek." [13] We have been fortunate in learning enough about these two school-teachers to allow brief character-sketches to be presented in the chapter on Lincoln's educational advantages.

One other reminiscence of Lincoln is said to have been preserved by Dr. Jesse Rodman, who lived at Hodgenville at the time Lincoln was president, and who visited him in the White House in 1863. Mr. Rodman said Lincoln told him that the two objects which were most impressed

on his memory were a big tree somewhere on Nolin and the stone house.[14] Mr. Richard Creal told the writer that he thought this tree must have been a giant oak which stood near Buffalo but which had been down many years.

The old stone house which stands in an excellent state of preservation is well known to me. It is the quaint home of my good friend Mr. Gustavus Ovesen. The old building was constructed in the year 1800 and is situated two miles east of Hodgenville on the Knob Creek road. Its limestone walls are so thick that it suggests a fortification.

Dr. Rodman also brought back with him another bit of reminiscence from the president which if correctly reported gives us at least one view of the child Lincoln at work. The story as reported by Dr. Rodman referred to the Knob Creek home and is as follows:

> I remember that old home very well. Our farm was composed of three fields. It lay in the valley surrounded by high hills, and deep gorges. Sometimes when there came a big rain in the hills the water would come down through the gorges and spread all over the farm. The last thing that I remember doing there was one Saturday afternoon; the other boys planted the corn in what we called the big field; it contained seven acres and I dropped the pumpkin seed. I dropped two seeds every other hill and every other row. The next Sunday morning there came a big rain in the hills, it did not rain a drop in the valley but the water coming down through the gorges washed ground, corn, pumpkin seed and all clear off the field.[15]

Anybody who has visited the Knob Creek Farm will immediately recognize the accuracy of the president's description of the farm more than fifty years after he had left the place. One will also have no difficulty in deter-

mining where the seven-acre field lies. On the last visit I made to the place I took a photograph of a boy about fourteen years old plowing corn in this same field, and the above story was called to mind.

When the Larue County paper comes to my desk each week I always read with interest the Knob Creek news. Not many weeks ago I clipped this item from the paper: "High water swept away the bridge across Knob Creek and travel was delayed several hours." The bridge was located within a hundred feet of the cabin-site of Thomas Lincoln, and the cabin was situated in the seven-acre field mentioned by Abraham Lincoln. I imagine that Abraham Lincoln remembered many more incidents about his childhood on Knob Creek, but these to the writer's knowledge are all that have come down from him.

There was a span of forty-five years between the childhood of Abraham Lincoln and the presidency. During this time there would be no occasion for any one to recall the playtime actions of the boy. The only playmate who would have been able to review such events as would be remembered in the Kentucky period of Abraham's childhood would have been his own sister, two years his senior. She, however, had been dead thirty-two years when the time came to recall these events. The mother who observed the growing child during these Kentucky years was buried before Abraham had attained the age of ten. Nine years before the biographers set out to learn about the child, the father had also passed away.

These facts lead us to present in this discussion those whom we may call the traditional playmates of Abraham Lincoln. We shall also discuss some of the traditions

bearing upon his childhood which are out of harmony with documentary evidence and common sense as well. We learn from a recent publication that when William H. Herndon came to Kentucky in 1865 he found but four persons who claimed to have remembered Abraham Lincoln as a child in the state of his birth: John Duncan, Austin Gollaher, Presley Haycraft, and John B. Helm.[16] The truth is that he found but one, and that one remembered virtually nothing about any member of the Lincoln family. The testimony of these four informants of William Herndon has been so universally accepted that the writer has deemed it wise to test the authenticity of each of these traditional acquaintances.

The first traditional playmate of Abraham Lincoln whom we wish to introduce to the reader is John Duncan, who later became the Rev. John Duncan. He was born July 5, 1804.[17] On February 21, 1867, he wrote a letter to William Herndon telling him of an incident in which Abraham and he took part during the childhood days of the president in Larue County. Herndon tells the story as follows:

> John Duncan, afterwards a preacher of some prominence in Kentucky relates how he and Abe on one occasion ran a ground hog into a crevice between two rocks, and after working vainly almost two hours to get him out, "Abe ran off about a quarter of a mile to a blacksmith shop, and returned with an iron hook fastened to the end of a pole" and with this rude contrivance they virtually "hooked" the animal out of his retreat.[18]

John Duncan lived on Nolin Creek, not far from the Lincoln home. The Lincolns moved to Knob Creek when Abraham was two years old. It is hardly possible that the

Rev. John Duncan could have had Abraham as a playmate before he was two years old. After he was two years old he lived more than ten miles from Duncan.

As the Lincolns moved from the Nolin neighborhood in 1811, John was but seven years old and Abraham but two when this exciting chase ended with the ground-hog seeking refuge in the crevice of a rock. The two-year-old Lincoln did not let a quarter-mile jaunt to the shop and a quarter of a mile back prevent the continuation of the hunt. It is doubtful if the Rev. John Duncan ever saw Abraham Lincoln as a child and recognized him as a son of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln.

In the chapter on Lincoln's nativity we have had something to say about the Gollahers and their association with the Lincoln family. From information given by Austin Gollaher himself we learn that he was born in 1805 and came with his parents in 1812 to the Knob Creek region of what is now Larue County.[19] Austin also informed his interviewer that his father settled on one of the headwaters of Knob Creek and that the Lincolns were living near the mouth of the stream. The writer has walked over this road from the Lincoln to the Gollaher cabin sites, and the distance cannot be less than two miles. There is no reason to believe that there was any friendship between the two children until Abraham began to go to school. That they were schoolmates we cannot deny. The Lincoln children and those living in the Gollaher neighborhood would follow the same road home from school for about a mile; then Gollaher and his group would turn off of the main road, while the children from the Lincoln neighborhood would continue on the main road for another

mile.[20] The location of the Gollaher and Lincoln homes would not invite a very close association between a boy, as young as two when he arrived at Knob Creek and but seven when he left, and his friend five years his senior.

There was no occasion for Gollaher to review these casual meetings with the boy Abraham for more than forty years. As new friendships were made with boys nearer his own age, and as experiences with them overshadowed his play-days with the younger child, it would be remarkable that he even remembered one incident connected with Abraham Lincoln after all the years.

One tradition which has come down from Gollaher has had wide circulation. It is the story of the rescue of his playmate Abraham Lincoln from drowning. When Herndon visited Kentucky in 1865 he called upon Austin Gollaher and found:

> About the only noteworthy thing he appeared to be able to recall was the published incident of his rescue of the boy Lincoln from the waters of Knob Creek into which he had fallen while trying to "coon" it across the stream on a log.[21]

Lamon uses this story but changes the setting somewhat. He says:

> On one occasion when attempting to "coon" across the stream by swinging over on a sycamore tree, Abraham lost his hold and tumbling into the deep water was saved only by the utmost exertions of the other boy [Gollaher].

When Mr. Brown interviewed Gollaher in 1886, he was told by Gollaher that he saved Lincoln from drowning in the year 1812.[23] At this time Lincoln was three years old and Gollaher but eight. Evidently Mr. Gollaher was mistaken about the date of the rescue. We know of but

one person who would apparently rob Mr. Gollaher of this one, but very important, service rendered to Abraham Lincoln. Dennis Hanks also claims to have performed the same office as life-saver. Evidently Lincoln must have been in deep water most of the time, even in childhood.

There has recently come from the press a book of more than three hundred pages which attempts to feature the relationship between Austin Gollaher and Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Gore, the compiler of the volume, is a personal friend of the writer, and twenty-five years ago he worked on the same paper that the writer edited during the years 1919 and 1920.[24] Quotations from the preface of the book help to present the approach of Mr. Gore to the material he used. He says that the traditions he presents are from

> The loving memory of an old man . . . Mr. Gollaher saw the boy through the splendor of the man's later years, and while he sought a scrupulous truth to fact . . . it would have been extraordinary, if not impossible for his narration of early youth to escape the coloring and the glamor of an imperishable name.[25]

It is to be regretted that already some biographers have used this highly colored story as a historical source. The internal evidence of the book is enough to condemn it as of any value from the historian's point of view. It is interesting reading and may conserve some of the early social customs of the people. While Mr. Gore sets out to make Austin Gollaher the leading character, excepting Abraham of course, the argument finally centers about the family of John Hodgen, the miller, and his mother. After Abraham was two years old the Lincolns did not live less than seven miles from Hodgen's Mill, traditional

center of the boy's activities. In the book it is a common thing for the boy Abraham, then under eight years of age, to start out with a bag of corn on his shoulder, walk to Hodgen's Mill, a distance of seven miles, spend the day with the Hodgens, and then return to his home, seven miles distant, with the bag of meal.

It is not likely that Mr. Gollaher's knowledge of Abraham Lincoln was increased after the year 1865, when he was visited by William Herndon. That nothing further of importance had been remembered between that date and the visit of Mr. Brown in 1886 we are assured. We shall therefore be obliged to dismiss Austin Gollaher as an informant on the childhood of Lincoln with the possible exception of the incident related about the rescue.

Presley Haycraft of Elizabethtown was a brother of Samuel Haycraft, the historian. Shortly after the election of Lincoln to the presidency, Samuel Haycraft wrote to him inquiring about his parentage. Samuel was under the impression that Abraham was born in Elizabethtown and that his mother was Sally Johnston Lincoln, the second wife of Thomas Lincoln. This was evidently the general impression in Elizabethtown. Samuel Haycraft, Lincoln then said, was mistaken about his parentage and the place of his birth.[26]

When Herndon visited Elizabethtown in 1865, Samuel Haycraft must not have been at home. Instead of interviewing Samuel as he had intended to do, he was obliged to talk with his brother Presley. Presley Haycraft was still laboring under the impression which his brother held before writing Lincoln. When Herndon interviewed him, his memory went back, not to a son of

Nancy Hanks, but to a son of Sarah Johnston. Herndon said that Presley Haycraft remembered Abraham Lincoln as "a little 'shirt-tail boy' in Elizabethtown, who could be seen about the court house and stores clinging to his mother's apron." [27]

Abraham Lincoln never lived in Elizabethtown. During his "shirt-tail boy" age he was living on Knob Creek at least sixteen miles away. Presley Haycraft confused John D. Johnson, son of Sarah Bush Johnston, born in Elizabethtown in 1810, with the boy Lincoln, who was a year older than John D. and who later became his stepbrother.[28]

John D. Johnson's mother was the wife of Daniel Johnston, jailer of Hardin County for 1815 and for part of 1816. [29] It was one of the duties of the jailer to act as janitor of the court-house. Very likely most of the cleaning devolved upon the jailer's wife. It would be natural for Sarah to take this little five-year-old "shirt-tail boy" to the court-house with her when she did the cleaning. This is the boy about whom Presley Haycraft told Herndon in the interview at Elizabethtown in 1865.

Presley Haycraft probably never saw Abraham Lincoln as a child so as to remember him, although the child would have been in Elizabethtown on several occasions when his father was there on court days. We have no hesitancy in dismissing this tradition as a case of mistaken identity.

We are greatly indebted to Haycraft's "History of Elizabethtown" for many contributions to this work and especially for a sketch of the life of John B. Helm. Samuel Haycraft the historian married John B. Helm's sister Sally, who was two years younger than John. Mr.

Haycraft should therefore be able to speak with some authority in his reference to the early history of his brother-in-law. He says:

Hon. John B. Helm was born in Washington County, Kentucky on October 28, 1797 . . . About the year 1809 or 1810 the family removed to Breckenridge County, near Sugartree-town and on the Ohio River. When between eight and ten years of age he was sent to the Hardin Academy in Elizabeth-town, and was whipped to his lessons for about one year, and finally whipped into typhoid fever, when recovered he was taken home and sent to a country school. Some few years after the Elizabethtown academy fell into the hands of Duff Green, John was sent to Green's School, and when Green commenced merchandising he selected John as his first clerk in the house of Helm and Green, which did a large business. . . . After the store was closed John concluded to study law—went to Frankfort and read law in the office of Honorable John Pope. After concluding his studies he went to Alabama and went into practice. Afterwards he returned to Elizabethtown and married and commenced merchandising and continued in that trade several years, later settling in Hannibal, Mo.[30]

The writer is in possession of the original letter which John B. Helm wrote to his brother-in-law Samuel Haycraft in which he told of his acquaintance with Abraham Lincoln as a small boy in Elizabethtown. From the letter Mr. Haycraft secured the information which he published in his history. A portion of the story follows:

Major Ben Helm the senior partner of Helm and Green purchased the Bush farm. Sally Lincoln formerly Sally Bush but now the step mother of the future President, was entitled to a part of the purchase money, and a portion was to be taken out in the store, and she always brought little Abe to carry her bundles home. Abe would always take his seat upon a nail keg, and John always treated him a lump of home made sugar, of which barrels were usually on hand in the store. Lincoln never forgot that kindness.[31]

Much earlier than this, however, John B. Helm had written to William Herndon, and from his letter Herndon gleaned the following account of this alleged friendship:

> One man [John B. Helm], who was principle clerk in the village where the Lincolns purchased their family supplies remembers him as "a small boy who came sometimes to the store with his mother. He would take his seat on a keg of nails, and I would give him a lump of sugar. He would sit there and eat it like any other boy, but these little acts of kindness," observes my informant, in an enthusiastic statement made in 1865, "so impressed his mind that I made a steadfast friend of a man whose power and influence have since been felt throughout the world." [32]

As a sequel to this reminiscence by John B. Helm, there is another statement which he made relative to a visit from Lincoln when candidate for president. Lincoln had gone to Kansas on business and, returning through Hannibal, called on Judge Helm, and, according to the judge, made this statement to the group that was traveling with him:

> "Gentlemen, here is the first man I ever knew that wore store clothes all the week, and this is the same man who fed me on sugar as I sat upon a nail keg"—then minutely related the whole circumstance.[33]

The writer does not believe that John B. Helm ever saw Abraham Lincoln until the reputed meeting in Hannibal, Missouri. We have proof that Abraham Lincoln moved with his parents to Indiana in the autumn of 1816. At this time, according to the Helm biography by Haycraft, Helm was still in school under the tutorage of Duff Green. We have evidence that Duff was teach-

ing school as late as 1816.[34] Samuel Haycraft in his history of Elizabethtown affirms that Duff did not purchase an interest in the business house until after he stopped teaching school.[35] Granted that Helm was his first clerk, John R. Helm would not have begun his work as clerk in the store of Helm & Green until after the Lincolns had left Kentucky.

When one reviews the traditions about this Helm-Lincoln relationship it is very easy to clear up the discrepancy about the boy who ate sugar on a nail-keg in an Elizabethtown store. It is much more difficult to understand the alleged conversation between Lincoln and Helm about the events that never happened. The solution of the "lump sugar boy" is the same as that of the "shirt-tail boy," because they are one and the same, John D. Johnston. Mr. Haycraft makes this plain when he states that Sally Lincoln rather than Nancy Lincoln was the mother with whom little Abe came to the store. As long as Abraham Lincoln was living in Kentucky he carried bundles for Nancy Hanks Lincoln and not for Sally Bush Johnston, who was not a Lincoln at that time and had a boy of her own to carry bundles.

In answering the other problem we would say that forty years is a long time for a seven-year-old boy to remember the features of a man. If Abraham Lincoln went to Elizabethtown, as he might have done, and saw a man in the store with his best clothes on, he may have remembered it, but he must have seen some other well dressed clerk instead of John B. Helm.

We have had occasion to speak before of the findings of William Herndon on this memorable visit to Kentucky

in 1856, in which he was able to gather up several worthless traditions relative to the father of the president. We shall now review his efforts to find some first-hand information about the childhood of the president himself. He claimed to have found but four men who had known the president as a child. Two of these had confused Araham Lincoln with John D. Johnston. Another, who thought Lincoln helped him hook a ground-hog out of a crevice in a rock, must have been mistaken about the name of his companion. The other one, and the only one who had probably ever known Lincoln, could remember but one incident associated with Abraham.

Thomas

Virtually nothing is known about the youngest child by the name of Thomas, who was born to Thomas and Nancy presumably about two or three years after Abraham's birth. He lived long enough to receive a name, but our best informant, the president himself, does not give us any idea how long he lived. He said, "A brother, younger, died in infancy." [36] The fact that his birth and death are not entered in the family Bible would suggest that he lived but a short time and that the dates had passed out of the mind of Abraham when he made the entries in the book.

There is a tradition in Hardin County that when the Lincolns started on their trip to Indiana they stopped at the grave of the little one that they were leaving behind. The writer has come to the conclusion that this grave was

in the Little Mount Cemetery. It would be the only one of the old graveyards on the way from Knob Creek to Elizabethtown through Hodgenville. One biographer says that this child was buried in the South Fork graveyard, but an old record book of that church recently found shows that Thomas and Nancy were not members there, even when they lived close by. Little Mount Church is about the same distance from the Nolin home as the South Fork Church, but in the direction of the Knob Creek home, to which the Lincolns moved in 1811.

The writer has visited the Little Mount Cemetery and carefully searched for some marker that would indicate the grave of the child. While he was not successful, he did find evidence that the neighbors of the Lincolns at both the Nolin and Knob Creek homes buried their dead in this cemetery as early as 1810. A child born to John Ashcraft who died in infancy was buried in Little Mount, and the inscription on the stone suggests the use of the burial-ground at this early date: "In memory of James Ashcraft, born June 10, 1812, died May 17, 1813." An inscription very much like this was probably placed on the marker of the headstone over the infant child of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln.

Mr. Nall, who seems to have been mistaken about most of the Lincoln history that he tried to remember, is likewise in error when he tells about the birth, age, and burial of this infant child. Thomas could not have been born in Elizabethtown, as the Lincolns did not live there as late as the time of Abraham's birth. If the child had reached the age of two before it died, there would likely

be more information available about it. We are positive that Thomas Lincoln, Jr., is not buried in the graveyard of the Severns Valley Church at Elizabethtown, as alleged by Mr. Nall.

CHAPTER X

THE VOCATIONS OF THE FATHER

I was raised to farm work which I continued until I was twenty-two.

LINCOLN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY WRITTEN FOR FELL, 1859.

IT is doubtful if any honorable historical character has been libeled with so many false and uncomplimentary appellations as Thomas Lincoln. He has been called a vagabond, an idler, a tramp, a rover, and poor white trash. These terms have been emphasized with adjectives as follows: ignorant, shiftless, indolent, restless, unsuccessful, thriftless, trifling, worthless, improvident, listless, lazy, hopeless. He has also been characterized as lacking in energy, void of ambition, wanting in respectability, and a general failure in life. In the face of these bold and positive assertions it might seem a hopeless task to refute such an array of testimony, to say nothing of attempting to speak about the industry of this much abused man.

We have been unable to learn of a single writer who claims to have known Thomas Lincoln. There are but three of the informants who have furnished material to biographers who were acquainted with him in Kentucky. One of these, John Hanks, did not live within forty miles of the Lincolns. Another, Dennis Hanks, as a child for two years lived within two miles of the Lincolns. The third informant, Austin Gollaher, was but eight years

old when he moved to a place two miles from the Lincoln cabin. It was not until after his death that these three informants were asked to recall the Kentucky scenes in which Thomas Lincoln was to be featured. They themselves were but children when they knew him and had become old men before there was an occasion to be interviewed concerning him. This drives us to the conclusion that the only Thomas Lincoln of Kentucky that is a real Thomas Lincoln is the one that can be created by public documents.

The Laborer

Abraham Lincoln was right when he said that his father was a wandering laboring boy, and at the time he reached his majority we find him still doing hard manual labor.

A record book now in possession of the writer forever destroys the assumption that Thomas Lincoln was lazy. That he hired himself out to do the hardest kind of tasks is revealed by the entries in this book.[1] For a period of several months in 1796 and 1797 he was hired by Samuel Haycraft, Sr., to dig a raceway for a mill. Some of the time he worked by the day at the rate of three shillings, and again he dug in the race at four shillings a rod. Whether he worked by the day or by the rod it was a man's job, and no place for "a shiftless, lazy idler, lacking in energy."

Because of the mutilation of this old book it is impossible to learn just how long Lincoln worked for Samuel Haycraft, or just how much money he received. We can

say this, however, after going through this ledger, that he was by far the most consistent worker of the gang. We do not find him drawing pay in the form of whisky or any other merchandise between pay-days as did some of the other workers, but at certain intervals he received cash for his efforts. Within this old record book which the writer found, and in the very part where the Thomas Lincoln entries appear, there was discovered an old piece of currency with the following inscription: "This Bill entitles the bearer to receive eight Spanish milled dollars or the value thereof in gold or silver according to a resolution passed by Congress at Philadelphia Sept. 26th, 1778." [2] We wonder if this was not the type of currency with which Thomas Lincoln was paid for this hard labor. The early maps of Elizabethtown show the diagram of the old race on which Thomas Lincoln worked in 1796 and 1797. Thomas Lincoln according to the Hardin County tax book was twenty-one years old in 1797.[3] In reaching his majority we might say that his days as a common laborer closed, and there is evidence that he now aspired to follow a trade.

The Carpenter

It is very likely that Thomas Lincoln did his first carpenter's work while employed by Samuel Haycraft, Sr. All of his efforts were not put forth in digging, for there are entries in his accounts that show he did do some carpenter work as well. One complete entry for the year 1797 is copied here to suggest that it was on the dam at Haycraft's mill that Thomas Lincoln probably served his

apprenticeship in carpentry: "By hands working on the mill dam. To Lincoln 3 days, Joshua Haycraft 2 ditto, Henry Hull, October and November, 6 ditto, December, 4 ditto, to Linder's harry 3 ditto, To raising the 'damm' 15 hands rations and whiskey. To ditto 7 hands rations and whiskey." [4] When Lincoln returned to Hardin County in 1803 it is very likely that he went to work again for Samuel Haycraft, for he was called on to witness a writing in the form of a promissory note to Haycraft.[5]

Much has been said about Thomas Lincoln's learning the carpenter's trade from a certain Joseph Hanks, an uncle of his wife. There is no evidence to support this and much to contradict it. Lamon sarcastically remarks: "It was in the shop of Nancy's uncle, Joseph Hanks of Elizabethtown, that he essayed to learn the carpenter's trade." [6] We know that not long after the death of his father, Joseph Hanks went to Virginia; just how long he stayed we do not know.[7]

It is in the year 1805, however, that we first find Joseph Hanks listed in the Hardin County tax books, and he then owned land in Breckenridge County.[8] The record would imply that he was living in this county with his brother William near the Falls of Rough. Further confirmation of this fact is the purchase which he makes from William in 1806, when he buys the additional 700 acres of the original 1000 acres and also live stock and household goods.[9] We have no evidence that he ever lived in Elizabethtown until after his marriage in 1810. In 1812 he did some carpentry work on the Elizabethtown academy and was paid five dollars for his labor.[10]

On January 15, 1807, Thomas Lincoln attended a sale

and among purchases bought a sword, paying $3.00 cash for the piece of steel.[11] A sword sold just before this one brought $7.85. Now why should a "poverty-stricken" man be so foolish as to purchase an old sword? We cannot think of "poor white trash" purchasing an heirloom. If he "lacked ambition" he would not want it even for decorative purposes. If he was a "mighty hunter" he would hardly return to the gladiatorial method of protecting his home. If he had the "best set of carpenter's tools" among the tradesmen he would not need to make a crude home-made drawing-knife. We are inclined to believe, however, that is just the purpose for which he bought it. The writer has never seen any swords beaten into plowshares, but has observed many old pieces of sharp steel formed into crude tools which might have traced their origin to a sword that saw service in '76. It is a pity that some of Thomas Lincoln's satirists did not know about this sword, as it would have been much more dramatic to have had him cut off the ear of Abraham Enlow in a clash with broadswords than to bite off his nose in a rough-and-tumble fight.

Not long after Thomas Lincoln and his bride went to housekeeping in Elizabethtown, Thomas Lincoln made a contract with Denton Geoghegan to hew enough logs to erect a mill. The probable location of this mill was on Severns Valley Creek just over the original boundary of Elizabethtown. As timber was usually cut in the immediate vicinity of the building to be erected, we can be assured that his first large contract did not take him far from the Elizabethtown home. Herndon's remark about "his business ventures . . . if indeed he ever made one"

seems rather shallow in the light of the documents available in the Geoghegan-Lincoln suit.

Lincoln fulfilled his part of the contract, but Geoghegan refused to pay him the balance due at the conclusion of his labor, asserting that the work was not done according to specification. Lincoln brought suit against Geoghegan in a magistrate's court on March 25, 1807, and received judgment for the amount due and costs. The case was appealed by Geoghegan and carried to the county court and on May 9, 1808, the magistrate's verdict was confirmed by the county court, the court order reading as follows:

> Denton Geoghegan vs. Thomas Lincoln on an appeal from a Magistrates judgment. The court being fully advised of and concerning the premises, do consider and order that the said appeal be dismissed, and the Magistrate's judgment be and hereby is confirmed, and that the defendant recover from the said plaintiff the sum of four pounds and nine shillings and four shillings and six pence cost, and also the cost of this appeal.

Still anxious to get even with Lincoln, who had twice beaten him in the courts, Geoghegan brought suit in the Hardin Circuit Court in June, 1808, against Lincoln for one hundred dollars damages. The plaintiff claimed Lincoln had done his task in an "unworkman-like manner." At the July, August, and September terms of court the case was on the docket and on each hearing continued until the next term of court. On October 3 the following letter was sent to the clerk by Geoghegan:

> Benjamin Helm, C. H. C.
>
> Dear Sirs, I have agreed to have the suit brought by me against Thomas Lincoln struck off the docket. I will pay you the costs. Yours D. GEOGHEGAN.

On March 17, 1809, the case is officially dismissed with the following court order: "This case being agreed and settled by and between the parties herein it is therefore considered by the court that it be and the same is hereby dismissed, and that the defendant recover against the plaintiff his cost by him about his defense expended." This order closed the litigation between Lincoln and Geoghegan, and in every hearing Lincoln had won the verdict.

The most interesting document among the papers in the suit is the itemized bill of the work to be done. The original paper is very much soiled and worn, as if it had been carried by Thomas in his pocket to check up his work. Thirty-five pieces, from nine to forty feet in length and eight to fourteen inches in width, were to be prepared. The price was one penny halfpenny per square foot. On the back of the paper was written: "Mr. Thomas Lincoln, Hardin County."

The writer recently interviewed an old man at Elizabethtown, who has had much experience in hewing of the sort called for in the contract of Thomas Lincoln. After looking over the bill of work he estimated that it would have taken a man three or possibly four weeks to complete the task. The amount of money Thomas received would be a fair wage for a month's work in those days.

Another paper filed in the suit enables us to ascertain how near Thomas came to fulfilling the contract. It is the bill due Thomas Lincoln, showing that he completed the work and also giving the number of square feet in each log and the amount due on the work. The entire bill came to £6.0.0, on which there was a credit received by

Thomas of £1.11.0, leaving a balance of £4.9.0, the amount for which Thomas sued.

In comparing the contract with the actual work done we find that seven of the twenty-five logs were not exactly to specification, four being six inches too long, and three six inches too short. A variation of six inches one way or the other in the logs of a cabin was not surprising. As this building was to be a sawmill it would not require such accuracy as Geoghegan seems to have demanded.

It is sufficient to say that the court in every case found for Thomas Lincoln, which would indicate that he had fulfilled his contract in a "workman-like manner." [12]

Although we have no documentary proof, other than the Geoghegan suit, that Thomas Lincoln followed the carpenter's trade after his marriage, several traditions which are current in Elizabethtown suggest that he was rather actively engaged in the construction and finishing of the early homes in the community. A letter was written by Mr. Haycraft to the editor of the "Louisville Democrat," dated from Elizabethtown July 9, 1865, referring to the death of Jack Thomas. A part of the letter follows:

> I have just learned that my old friend and relation Jack Thomas Esq. departed his life at his residence in Leitchfield, Grayson County, on the 5th. day of July, 1863. Jack Thomas and myself commenced this world poor boys together in the early existence of the state. He was born on the 7th. day of February, 1790 near this town, his father resided in a house the joiners work of which was done by Thomas Lincoln, father of the President.[13]

In 1869 when Samuel Haycraft wrote his history of Elizabethtown he again mentioned this house in con-

nection with Thomas Lincoln. Referring to Hardin Thomas, Jack Thomas's father, he said, "He lived in a house rather better than usual for that day, the carpenters work of which was executed by Thomas Lincoln the father of the late President; and the most of that work is to be seen at this day, sound as a trout, although done upwards to sixty years ago." [14] It will be noticed that the date of the construction of the house would bring it back to to date when Thomas Lincoln was living in Elizabethtown.

Another entry in Haycraft's history would imply that Thomas Lincoln constructed the house in which he lived at Elizabethtown: "After this time similar buildings were erected by George Berry, Jacob Bruner, Samuel Patton, Mrs. Jane Ewing, Mrs. Boling, Mrs. Lewellen, Thomas Lincoln (father of the President) James Crutcher, Asa Coombs, Thomas Davis, Henry Ewing, James Love, and David Vance." [15] Most of the pioneers constructed their own houses with the help of neighbors, and it is not unreasonable to think that Thomas followed the usual course of the pioneer. There were probably no cabins for rent in Elizabethtown at this time. In the face of all this evidence we cannot accept the estimate that has been placed upon the industry of Thomas Lincoln at this period. That he did carpenter work at Elizabethtown between the years 1803 and 1809 is an assured fact.

The Farmer

If one had a fairly good idea of the difficulties that the pioneer experienced in getting his land ready for the crops

and providing sufficient fencing to keep the stock out of the fields, he would not make the mistake of which one biographer is guilty. This writer said that Thomas Lincoln was "constantly looking for a new piece of ground where he might make a living without much work." [16] The pioneer who had the least ambition and was looking for an easy time would more likely settle down in the first cabin he acquired. If Thomas Lincoln had followed the course of least resistance he would have located on the Mill Creek farm, which he purchased; and with hunting and fishing and the growing of a little corn he could probably have survived. I have just sat down to a mess of bass caught in Mill Creek, and if all the fish in Mill Creek were as sweet as they were Thomas would have had good eating during the fishing season at least.

Thomas Lincoln did not become a farmer until he bought the South Fork farm in December, 1808, just in time to enable Abraham to be born the son of a farmer. Thomas had not put in more than two crops before he learned the value of the rich bottom lands on Knob Creek, and to a farm on this creek he moved in 1811. We have already commented on the productiveness of the Knob Creek farm. Even in this day, after a hundred years of cultivation, it produces bumper crops of corn, clover, and alfalfa.

It is not necessary to rely entirely on supposition when we think of Thomas the farmer. We have definite information as to his ability to produce crops. At the time Thomas Lincoln removed from Kentucky for Indiana he left behind him a considerable amount of corn. If we knew the terms of agreement between Thomas Lincoln and

George Lindsey as to the division of crops, we might draw some conclusion as to the amount of corn Thomas was in the habit of raising each year. That he had made some payments on the farm we are certain. There were payments, however, that had not been met, and possibly a fifty-fifty arrangement between tenant and landlord may have been agreed upon in settlement.

We know from a suit filed by Lindsey against John Kennedy that Lincoln had left forty bushels of corn in the loft of Caleb Hazel's cabin. Kennedy had attached this corn of Lincoln's on behalf of the parties bringing the ejectment suit.[17] He had also attached two hundred bushels of corn, evidently grown on the Lincoln place, but now belonging to Lindsey. Lindsey brought suit to recover the corn that had been attached. The jury found for Lindsey, the plaintiff.[18] It is likely that Thomas Lincoln was never able to recover any of his corn, although the final verdict in the suit proved that Lincoln was under no obligation to the parties who had attached his surplus crop. If he had grown the two hundred bushels that were in Lindsay's name, which is almost certain—and this was one half of the crop—he had produced that year four hundred bushels of corn.

Traditional Vocations

One of Lincoln's biographers published the memories of an old man which would imply that Thomas Lincoln was a distiller by trade; "Nancy Hanks married a man by the name of Lincoln who was a whiskey distiller," to quote the statement.[19] That Thomas Lincoln lived in a section

of the country that was to become famous for its distilleries cannot be questioned. Within two miles of his Knob Creek home, and in sight of the school that Abraham attended, there was established a distillery which at one time was said to be the largest in the world.

Peter Atherton, the founder, was a ferry-keeper at Knob Creek and also sold "moonshine." At the June, 1814, term of court in Hardin County the grand jury brought in "a presentment against Peter Atherton for retailing spirituous liquors without a license." [20] The great Atherton distilleries are to-day being dismantled, and the once flourishing town of Athertonville, whose school-house stands but a few rods from the site of the log school that Lincoln attended, is gradually submitting to the new order. While the very genesis of whisky-making in Kentucky can be traced to these Knobs, it will be a long time before the exodus of the moonshiner from these secluded valleys can be announced.

If some of the authors who have tried to create a proper environment for the Lincolns' early history had been as particular to secure the proper color as the scenario writer is to-day, there would not have been so many misleading statements relative to frontier times. "Good merchantable whisky" was one of the chief mediums of exchange among the pioneers, and while corn was the principal food crop it was also the money crop. Corn in liquid form, securely sealed in barrels, was often a safer investment than corn put on the ribs of porkers who ran wild in an unfenced forest with nothing but an earmark to show possession.[21] The historian who represents Thomas Lincoln as "growing just enough corn to feed the family as there

was no market nor transportation facilities," must be ignorant of the fact that whisky as well as pork chops is a product of the cob.

Thomas Lincoln probably made whisky and used it in payment of his accounts, but we have no reason to believe that he sold it "by the small," which was the expression used signifying the retailing of the product. In no record do we find that Thomas Lincoln ran an "ordinary" or "road house," with which went the privilege of retailing liquors. If Thomas Lincoln took a cargo of whisky to Indiana when he made that famous traditional trip on a raft of his own building, it was not as a whisky distiller but as a farmer with the products of his farm, like so much pork or tobacco.

It may be possible that Thomas Lincoln in this instance has been confused with an uncle, Thomas Lincoln of Fayette County, who owned a distillery. It is likely that this is the source of the tradition.[22]

We have no idea why Thomas Lincoln should be associated with the occupation of stone-masonry, as indicated by one author.[23] Another author who speaks of Thomas as an old man whose profession was rail-splitting has evidently in mind the early occupation of the president himself.[24]

The Three Occupations

With the three vocations in mind which Thomas apparently followed with some degree of success, we do not have so discouraging a picture as we might judge from the amount of adverse comment which has been published

as to his lack of industry. During the first period of his life, up to the time he was twenty-one, we might expect to find him a laborer. The son of a widow, with few opportunities, would have little chance to secure a smattering of education. From twenty-one years to thirty-three, a period of twelve years, we find him doing the rough carpenter work of the pioneer. From this time to his removal from Kentucky, when he had nearly attained the age of forty-one, a period of eight years, he must be classified as a farmer, having been the proprietor of three farms. If we think of him starting out to work at fourteen, we shall find him regularly engaged for seven years as a laborer, twelve years as a carpenter, and eight years as a farmer. There is no indication that his interests were continually fluctuating from one to another of these occupations during this period.

CHAPTER XI

HIS AVOCATIONS

Abraham took an early start as a hunter, which was never much improved afterwards. A few days before the completion of his eighth year in the absence of his father, a flock of wild turkeys approached the new log Cabin and Abraham with a rifle gun standing on the inside, shot through a crack and killed one of them.

SKETCH PREPARED BY LINCOLN FOR SCRIPPS, 1860.

WHEN the first explorers returned from the new country beyond the Alleghanies and told their marvelous stories about the riches of territory to the west, the mind of the settler in Virginia was inspired to visualize Kentucky as a hunting-ground, a field of waving corn, or a pasture of grazing cattle. The more adventurous listened to the stories of Daniel Boone and joined groups like the Long Hunters. Others were told of the experiments of Simon Kenton in the cane-breaks with Indian corn, and of the wonderful fertility of the soil. Still others, who had come from the grazing regions of the old country, were interested in the reports of great droves of wild buffaloes which roamed over the wide meadows. The hunter, the tiller of the soil, and the herder all saw in Kentucky the land of promise.

The Kentucky Lincolns were primarily tillers of the ground. It was the corn lands that they saw from their Virginia cabins when they looked across the Alleghanies

to the new country. Abraham the pioneer lost his life not long after his arrival in Kentucky while putting in a crop. Mordecai and Josiah, brothers of Thomas and sons of the pioneer Abraham, were farmers like their father, depending on the soil to produce their living. Thomas Lincoln, after working as a laborer and a carpenter, soon slid into the family groove and coaxed his living from the ground. Whatever occupied the attention of the Kentucky Lincolns after they became settled in the family calling we may call avocations.

The Horsemen

The lack of transportation facilities which limited the corn market forced the farmer to send his corn off on foot or in liquid form. The former method not only increased the cattle and hog shipments but also invited the introduction of the thoroughbred horse, which soon became synonymous with Kentucky. This new industry opened up an avocation for the farmer which in many cases invited him to leave the tilling of the soil for the broad blue-grass pastures. A new vocation was established and dignified by the term "breeder." While the younger generation of Lincolns never became leaders in this new enterprise, they were undoubtedly interested in the thoroughbred.

John Caldwell was appointed administrator of the Pioneer Lincoln estate on October 14, 1788.[1] During the same year there appeared in the "Kentucky Gazette," published at Lexington, an announcement that "Darius, the fastest horse in Kentucky," was then in the possession of this same John Caldwell.[2] That the three boys in the

Lincoln family who lived not far away were admirers of this early Kentucky champion must be admitted.

The fact that the oldest Lincoln Boy, Mordecai, inherited most of the estate of his father may account for the purchase of "a celebrated stallion called Strong Sampson." John Caldwell, the administrator of the estate, probably suggested this purchase. Some misunderstanding about the trade caused Mordecai Lincoln to bring suit against Conrod Matthis, from whom the purchase was made, and the suit was won by Lincoln after it had been on the docket for more than six years.[3] One of the affidavits in the suit was signed by Jesse Head, the minister who married Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks.

Besides this thoroughbred stallion, Mordecai at that period owned five other horses, one a valuable brown mare.[4] While at Springfield, the county-seat, one day he left this mare in care of the tavern-keeper, William Pile. When he returned for the animal she could not be found. Lincoln brought suit against Pile for the recovery of the animal, and the jury awarded Lincoln the sum of ten pounds, or $48.50.[5] This was a very high price for an animal in pioneer days, for few horses are found appraised at more than five pounds as early as March, 1800, the date on which this suit was brought.

At a sale of the estate of Jonathan Joseph, one of Thomas Lincoln's neighbors, we find Thomas making the purchase of currycomb, for which he paid sixty-three cents.[6] It is doubtful if many horses in pioneer Kentucky ever felt a currycomb scrape over their sides, but Thomas Lincoln was proud of his horses. We can picture little Abe, then a boy of six years, standing on a

stump and currying the old family mare. This picture is far different from one drawn by a recent biographer of Lincoln, who describes a scene that is supposed to represent Thomas making his first purchase of a horse with which to move to Indiana: "Mr. Lincoln came home leading a horse that was a sight to behold. Besides being old and thin, it had a twisted foot. Mr. Lincoln had traded a few pelts for it." [7]

While Thomas Lincoln was living on the Knob Creek farm in Kentucky he "took up" an estray gray mare and advertised it in accordance with the law. The estray notice proves that Thomas was a keen observer of horses, for he did not omit a single detail when the description was filed with the county clerk. The writer has read hundreds of early estray notices, but this one contains the most detailed description of an estray horse he has ever seen. Many a notice was so lacking in detail that it would be impossible for the owner to learn from it whether or not the animal advertised belonged to him. The original document reads as follows:

> Taken up by Thomas Lincoln in Hardin County on Knob Creek, on the road leading from Bardstown to Nolin a gray mare, eight years old, fourteen hands high, branded on the near thigh but not legible, a scar on her off side, a dark spot on her neck on the off side under the mane about the size of a dollar, a sore back, trots naturally, appraised to twenty dollars.[8]

While the writer was editing the "Larue County Herald" at Hodgenville, Kentucky, there was called to his attention a story appearing in an exchange about a trade Thomas Lincoln had made by which he secured his first horse. While this story is purely traditional, it has had

so little circulation that it may be of interest here. It is published under the caption, "Old Relic of Lincoln's," and is suggested by a whip saw which Mr. Peter L. Powell of Grayson County now has in his possession, and which has been in the family for fifty years. He declares that this whip-saw belonged to the father of the president. The story follows:

When Lincoln first moved to Larue County he had no horse and wanted to trade for one and having a fine rifle and the above named whipsaw he set to work to trade these articles for a horse, with which to tend his small crop of cereals. A neighbor by the name of Redmond had a fine looking animal but he would not work without first being whipped, but after receiving a lively threshing, as old man Redmond termed it, of a morn, he would work right along the balance of the day. This animal he concluded to palm off on his easy going neighbor. So he saw Mr. Lincoln and told him that he had a horse for trade, set a time for Mr. Lincoln to come and try him. So Lincoln went according to promise, but Redmond had given the horse a whipping and was plowing straight ahead when Lincoln got there. He examined the horse, plowed him, in fact he suited him to the letter. The trade was made Lincoln giving his rifle and saw for the horse. Within a few days Mr. Lincoln wanted to break some ground for a garden. He hitched the horse to a plow but behold he would not pull a pound. Finally finding he would not work for him, he went over to his neighbor Redmond, told him he wanted to borrow his gun, got it and came back, lead the horse a few hundred yards up Knob Creek and shot him dead, and returned it to the owner without mentioning the failure of the horse to work or alluding to the way in which he had been swindled.[9]

The court records are not in agreement with some of the features of this tradition. When the Lincolns first moved to what later became Larue County they did not settle on Knob Creek, as the tradition holds, but on Nolin.

The year they arrived at the Nolin farm they listed two horses on the tax book. They moved the Knob Creek neighborhood two years later, and this year they listed one horse for taxation but the following year listed three.[10]

Thomas Lincoln himself was probably interested in the breeding of good horses. In 1815, the year before he left Knob Creek for Indiana, the tax list shows that he returned four horses, one of them a stallion.[11] Out of 104 tithables shown in the commissioners' book of this year, only six had as many horses as he. Knob Creek has always been famous for its thoroughbred horses. The Knob Creek Stock Farm, which borders on the farm where the Lincolns lived, and on which the Austin Gollaher cabin until recently stood, produces to-day some of the best saddle-horses in America. In the summer of 1925, while the writer was interviewing the proprietor of the stock-farm about the events of the period of the Lincolns' residence in that community, two wealthy saddle-horse exhibitors visited the farm. They came all the way from Chicago to purchase a fine animal that the Knob Creek Stock Farm had produced. Many beautiful saddle-horses that have been admired on the tan-bark in New York and Chicago were raised and trained on the farm adjoining the Lincoln plantation. Red Light, at one time champion saddle-horse of America, is a product of this farm and still finds pasture along the banks of Knob Creek.

The Hunter

Much has been made of Thomas Lincoln's skill as a hunter. The purpose has been to discredit Thomas rather

than to make him a hero of the chase. Two informants have had a hand in this task, and neither of them was in a position to speak with any authority on this question in so far as it related to the history of Thomas in Kentucky. It is evidently Dennis Hanks who informed Herndon about the type of man Thomas Lincoln was. We have already had occasion to consider in the chapter on "The Maternity" the qualifications of Dennis to discuss the activities of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln in their Kentucky environment. Because Dennis happened to live in the Lincoln home in Indiana, it does not follow that he could speak with authority on the Lincolns during their Kentucky residence.

The other informant is Austin Gollaher, whose traditions have been given to the public by Gore. The man who could remember but one incident relating to Abraham Lincoln the boy would hardly be able to give a reliable character-sketch of the father. In view of Austin's testimony relative to the birth of Lincoln as it is discussed in the chapter on "The Nativity," no one should attach great weight to anything that he has to say. It might be expected that every pioneer boy who grew up with the gun in his hand would be a good shot and would enjoy a day in the woods. He would set traps if animals were bothering his fowls or stock. This is a far different picture, however, from the one which makes Thomas neglect his family and absent himself for days at a time, in order to satisfy the hunting instinct.

There is but one source of information that would throw light on the ability of Thomas Lincoln as a hunter, and the writer realizes that it is not conclusive. Wolves

were a menace to farming in the early days, and they became so destructive to young stock that a bounty was offered for them. The bounty for wolves over six months old was a dollar and a half, and for those under six months it was a dollar. It was necessary for the hunter to bring the scalp to the county-seat and have the proper official credit the pelt and make out an order for the payment of the bounty.[12]

Once each year a complete list of the bounties on wolves, with the names of those who earned them, were entered upon the court record. While a person might receive the bounty for a friend, in every case the name of the hunter who killed the wolf was given. The writer carefully went over every one of these lists during the residence of Thomas Lincoln in Hardin County, and not once is he credited with a wolf scalp. During five years from 1805 to 1809 there were 355 wolves killed in the county, but Thomas never got one. Perhaps he did not need the money. If most of his time was spent in the woods with his gun, it is reasonable to believe that he would have occasionally killed a wolf and brought the scalp to the county-seat.[13]

There is a tradition in Elizabethtown that Thomas Lincoln while he was living in the town, once killed a bear on the banks of Severns Valley Creek.

This story suggests a tendency that is often observed with reference to Indians and game, which admits no diminishing supply of either through several decades A letter written by Robert Howard in November, 1791, from Ohio County to Captain Isaac Morrison, a storekeeper in Bardstown, Nelson County, gives a good illustration of

the setting into which some biographers would fit Thomas Lincoln at the time Abraham was born eighteen years later. A portion of it follows with the original spelling:

I have maide Some purchases of Baire Skins, and as the Hunters is now going out on the Search for Baires, I expect I will make some more progres, in purchases, I expect to gett a good many and I will Miss no Opportunity to gett What I can.[14]

As Morrison had to bring suit to collect for the goods he sent Howard on the strength of this note, it is likely he did not get as many "Baires" as he had expected. Even at that early date civilization was driving out wild life.

CHAPTER XII

THE CITIZEN

From this place [Knob Creek Farm] he [Thomas Lincoln] moved to what is now Spencer County, Indiana, in the autumn of 1816, Abraham then being in his eighth year. The removal was partly on account of slavery, but chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles.

SKETCH PREPARED BY LINCOLN FOR SCRIPPS, 1860.

THOMAS LINCOLN'S son has been called the first citizen of America. Thomas has been called the worst citizen in all the country-side, characterized by one writer as an "indolent, happy-go-lucky tramp." [1] The public records show that he was appointed to several types of public service, and that he discharged his duties in a satisfactory manner. Further investigation has shown him to have been a producer rather than a parasite, a taxpayer rather than a delinquent, and a peaceful citizen rather than a fighter. Evidence is also available which supports the claim made by his son that he removed to Indiana, "chiefly on account of the difficulty in land titles."

THE INDIAN FIGHTER

Mordecai Lincoln, oldest brother of Thomas and the avenger of his father Abraham's death at the hands of Indians, is reported to have been an Indian-fighter of some repute. There are no documents at hand, however,

which allow us to ascertain what his accomplishments were in this regard. We do know that Thomas Lincoln in 1795 was a member of the guard from the Fourth Regiment of militia, "ordered into service for the defense of the frontiers of Washington County." [2] We have learned that the Indians were especially troublesome at this period, and we can conclude that Thomas as well as Mordecai took some satisfaction in bearing arms against the red men.

Lieutenant George Ewing's company, consisting of Nath. Hickerson, John Mott, John Weekly, William Thomas, Thomas Lincoln, Walker Fowler, and Anthony Morgan, was ordered into service on June 8, 1795, and continued therein one month. At the expiration of this term of service it appears that a new company was organized, with Lieutenant Philip Washburn in Command.[3] It consisted of the following men besides the lieutenant: Nathaniel Hickerson, John Cameron, Allen Hamilton, Daniel Hinton, William Mattingly, James Davis, Andrew Conn, Thomas Lincoln, John Mott, Beverly Cox, and Zachariah Lewis. This company served from July 7, 1795, to August 5, 1795. What inference we may draw from the fact that the company was increased from eight to twelve is not certain, but it might be fair to suggest that the earlier company had seen some real service.

The Guardsman

The first public service of Thomas Lincoln in Hardin County was rendered shortly after his arrival. James Wilson had been charged "with having on the twenty-

fifth day of January last gave Archibald McDonald of said County one and one quarter of counterfeit Spanish mill dollars." [4] Charles Helm, deputy sheriff of Hardin County, who arrested Wilson, summoned several men as guards to bring Wilson to Elizabethtown, and among them was Thomas Lincoln.[5] Helm certifies that they were called in January, 1803, so that this introduction of Thomas Lincoln to public service took place between January 26 and 31, 1803. Thomas continued to guard Wilson at the jail for six days.[6] At the November term of court of the same year it was ordered that Lincoln be paid the sum of one pound and seven shillings for his service.[7] Wilson was acquitted, and it is possible that he was the man who later married into the family of William Hanks.[8]

The next account of Thomas Lincoln's service as guard was during his residence at Elizabethtown. A murderer, William Bray, was to be tried at the June term of court, 1808.[9] A court order affirms that "David Vance, a blacksmith, put one pair of handcuffs on William Bray, prisoner on the thirteenth day of June, 1808, and on the fourteenth of the above date he the said Vance took the handcuffs off of the said William Bray." [10] Certificates signed by the jailer Ogden show that John Smith guarded Bray during the two days' trial, and that Thomas Lincoln guarded Bray during his confinement through the intervening night.[11]

The Juryman

In order to serve on a jury in the early days it was necessary to be a freeholder. In less than a month after

Thomas Lincoln had purchased his Mill Creek farm he was called to serve on a jury. The case to be tried was one of assault and battery in which Isaac Bush was plaintiff and Bennon Shaw and Sarah his wife defendants. The jury found "the assault of the defendant Sarah without any such cause, as in pleading they have alleged, and they do access the plaintiff damage by occasion thereof to one penny besides his costs." [12] Bush was a brother of Sally Bush, who about sixteen years later married Thomas Lincoln. One of the jurymen in this case was Greenberry Dorsey, a brother of Azel W. Dorsey, who became one of Abraham Lincoln's school-teachers in Indiana.

We cannot affirm that service as a juryman was a distinction after reading the court records relative to the conduct of a certain jury sitting on the case of Paine *vs.* Wickliff in which it was alleged that "after the jury had retired and before agreeing, did eat drink, fiddle, and dance, and that persons not of the jury were admitted and joined with the jury in drinking revelling and carousing, and when they were wearied down with their Bacchanalian debauch, concluded to make up a verdict upon the principle of addition and division, each set down his amount, added the whole up, and then divided by twelve." [13] The sequel was a long argument about the validity of the findings of the jury, and a new trial was ordered. Thomas Lincoln, however, was not a member of this jury.

On several occasions after his first jury call Thomas was summoned to sit on a case; but none of these cases, so far as the writer has been able to learn, were of great importance. The dates on which he served might be of

interest: Thursday, April 19, 1804, two different cases; April 27, 1807; April 25, 1808; June 17, 1808; November 15, 1808; March 15, 1809; September 2, 1811; June 12, 1812.[14]

His continued jury service throughout these years brought Thomas Lincoln in touch with some of the greatest men of that pioneer day, who were then practicing law in Kentucky. He was undoubtedly influenced by these attorneys and must have witnessed some of the intellectual battles that were waged by these master minds among the pioneers. We shall mention a few of the members of the legal profession whom he heard at the bar: Christopher Greenup, Ninian Edwards, William P. Duvall, William Watkins, George P. Strauther, Henry Davidge, Thomas B. Read, Robert C. Hall, John Moore, John Miller, James Breckenridge, Samuel Carpenter, James Ferguson, John Hayes, Greenberry Gaither, Worden Pope, Alexander Pope, Frederick W. S. Grayson, Joseph Allen, Robert Miller, William Little, Joshua Novell, James Guthrie, and Ben Hardin.

The Patroller

In 1800, by an order of the court, Hardin County was divided into two districts: "Middle Creek to the head thereof thence to the head of Youngers Creek and down Youngers Creek to the mouth, and from the mouth of Middle Creek down to the mouth of Nolin to Green River."[15] A captain patroller and three privates were appointed to look after each district, and the order re-

quired that "the said patrollers do patrol duty 36 hours each month for three months."

At the March term of court, 1805, Christopher Bush, Robert C. Slaughter, Thomas Lincoln, and Gregory Glasscock were "appointed patrollers in the northwardly district of this county and that Christopher Bush be and he is hereby appointed captain of said Patrollers."[16] This term of office as indicated in the earlier order lasted but three months, as we find that at the May term their successors were appointed. The work had apparently been too heavy for the four men, as six were now named as the new patrollers.[17]

This appointment was to an office of some importance, as the type of men selected for the place would indicate. A few of the men who were serving in this capacity about the time when Lincoln was a patroller were as follows: George Helm, John Sneed, Samuel Bush, Armistead Churchill, Isom Enlow, Samuel Larue, Isaac Hodgen, George Rust, John Walters, Thomas Swan, Jacob Linder, and Charles Helm. Christopher Bush, the captain of the patrol in which Lincoln served, was the father of Sarah Bush Johnston, whom Thomas Lincoln married as his second wife in 1819.

The Road Surveyor

Until the writer began his research work, there was but one public document exhibited which suggested that Thomas Lincoln had been a public servant; it was called "his one political appointment." The document was a

court order appointing Thomas Lincoln "surveyor of that part of the road, leading from Nolin to Bardstown, which lies between the Bigg Hill and the Rolling Fork." [18] Any one who has climbed this hill will realize why "Bigg" was spelt with a double g.

The duties of the road surveyor in the pioneer days were much different from the tasks of the surveyors with whom we are acquainted. While no special training in the use of instruments was necessary, there was a responsibility attached to the office that caused the county officials to appoint the most substantial citizens to the post. An earlier term, "overseer," used to designate these early surveyors, more clearly defines the task to which they were assigned. The order appointing Thomas Lincoln as surveyor also designates certain men who shall "assist said Lincoln in keeping the said road in repair."

There was a penalty attached for failure on the part of the surveyor to keep the road open, and it is to the credit of Thomas Lincoln that he did not suffer the fate of many of the early surveyors, who neglected their duties in this respect. One of Lincoln's predecessors, Benjamin Johnston, was guilty of "not keeping the road in repair for six months past." [19] A presentment was brought in against him by the grand jury. Thomas's brother Mordecai over in Washington County was also guilty of the same offense.[20]

Another duty devolving upon the surveyor is suggested by an indictment brought against Frederick Tull in 1806, "for not putting up and keeping in repair at the forks of the said roads in the said circuit, one of which leads to Bardstown and the other to Shepherdsville a stone or

index or post or tree with plain inscription thereon in large letters directing to the most noted places to which each of the said roads lead." [21] Some of our counties would have no difficulty in finding indictments against their road supervisors in this day and time if such a regulation were enforced.

Every able-bodied pioneer was required to work on the roads, and the only way to obtain release from the obligation was by means of a court order providing for exemption. An order in the Nelson County Court for the September term, 1786, reads as follows: "Ordered that Benjamin Linn be exemplified from laboring on the roads, while he remains in his present infirm state." [22] As Benjamin Linn was a pioneer Baptist preacher, evidently the early apostles had to work as well as pray.

The road under the supervision of Thomas Lincoln was a segment of the Old Cumberland Road Leading to the Cumberland River country. The terminals of this segment can never be erased. On the southern extremity is the foot of the "Bigg" Hill, and on the northern limit the mouth of Knob Creek. The distance between these two is approximately six miles, and the course follows virtually the same road bed as in the days when Thomas Lincoln kept it in repair. The only noticeable change has been made at the place where the road crosses Rolling Fork River. While the old road crossed at the mouth of Knob Creek, the present crossing has been moved down river a few hundred feet.

That the task of Thomas Lincoln in keeping the road open was not an easy one, is confirmed by the fact that the first appropriation made by the State for road work was

ordered spent on this very stretch of which Thomas Lincoln was surveyor. The reason for this appropriation is made plain in the order: "because of the sparse population, amount of labor necessary, and the importance of the highway as the route of travel between the North and the South." [23] This appropriation was made in 1821 just four years after the expiration of Thomas Lincoln's term of service. Apparently no piece of roadway in the State was more difficult to keep open than this one, although Thomas probably did not have the oversight of the most difficult part of the new State project.

Is is a strange coincidence that Thomas Lincoln should be closely connected with the establishment of both of the leading highways passing north and south through western Kentucky: the Jackson Highway, on which he was a surveyor; and the Dixie Highway, for which he was one of the original petitioners. Shortly after the purchase of the Mill Creek farm the inhabitants of that part of Hardin County felt the need of a road to the county-seat and petitioned the court for one. There were forty-three petitioners, and among them was Thomas Lincoln.[24] His citizenship was valued to the extent that his name was solicited for the petition.

The Freeholder

One who has attempted in Kentucky to do abstract work that has taken him back into the field of original grants will appreciate what Abraham Lincoln meant when he referred to difficulty in land-titles as being chiefly responsible for the Lincoln exodus from Kentucky. An

excerpt from the Collins history might place before the reader the problems encountered by the prospective landowner:

> The radical and incurable defect of the land law was the neglect of Virginia to provide for the general survey of the country at the expense of the government and its sub divisions in to whole, half, or quarter sections, as is now done by the United States. Instead of this, each possessor of a warrant was allowed to locate the same where he pleased, and was required to survey it at his own cost; but his entry was required to be so special and precise that each subsequent locater might recognise the land already taken up, and make his entry elsewhere. To make a good entry therefore required a precision and accuracy of description which such men as Boone and Kenton could not be expected to possess; and all vague entries were declared null and void. Unnumbered sorrows, lawsuits, and heart rending vexations, were the consequence of this unhappy law. In the unskilled hands of the hunters and pioneers of Kentucky, entries, surveys and patents were piled upon each other, overlapping and crossing in endless perplexity. The full fruits were not reaped until the country became more thickly settled.[25]

Long before Thomas Lincoln had made a purchase of land for himself he had observed the difficulties which were experienced by those trying to secure a clear title to their holdings. He had witnessed the attempt of his own brother to hold the land inherited from his father.[26] The low price which Mordecai received for some of the large tracts would suggest that the titles were questioned.

Thomas Lincoln's own land difficulties began with the purchase of his first farm. He bought in 1803, 238 acres on Mill Creek in Hardin County.[27] When he tried to dispose of the property he learned that the boundaries carried by the deed would only warrant an area of two

hundred acres.[28] He was forced to lose thirty-eight acres because one call in the survey was copied "West" when it should have read "East." The present writer was the first to discover the missing thirty-eight acres.

The next difficulty that Thomas encountered was the question of the title to the South Fork farm on Nolin.[29] He had paid two hundred dollars cash for the three hundred acres in 1808. It proved that he had been deceived about the prior claim of Mather, the original owner. The property fell into litigation, and Lincoln lost the farm. Thomas Lincoln, however, was awarded the two hundred dollars which he paid Isaac Bush for the property, but it is very doubtful if he ever recovered the money.

After two failures Thomas Lincoln made another attempt to get a satisfactory title to a piece of ground. Before 1815 he had purchased from George Lindsey a tract of land on Knob Creek.[30] He had not owned the land any considerable time, and possibly had not finished paying Lindsey for it, when an ejectment suit was brought against Lincoln and nine of his neighbors. For some reason, Thomas Lincoln, and George Lindsey who was made a defendant in the suit with him, were the first of the ten defendants against whom action was brought by the plaintiffs. After several years of litigation the suit was settled in Lincoln's favor, but he had probably relinquished what interest he had in the transaction for a trivial sum, if indeed he ever received anything for his investment.

It is possible that in 1814 he was in possession of 786 acres of land, although the funds received for the sale of the Mill Creek property might have been put into the

Knob Creek purchase. One conclusion we can safely draw: from the time he came to Hardin County in 1803 until the close of his Kentucky residence he was not without real estate in his name. One writer has said that Nancy probably never lived in a home that could be truly called her own.[31] The exact reverse is true. She never lived in a home which her husband had not purchased outright, or on which he had not made such payments as would make him the proprietor.

After Thomas Lincoln had received three consecutive reverses in his land deals it is not strange that he should seek a home in a State where land-titles would be safe.

Part Three

COMMUNITY ENVIRONMENT

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES

Before leaving Kentucky he [Abraham Lincoln] and his sister were sent, for short periods, to A B C schools, the first kept by Zachariah Riney, and the second by Caleb Hazel.

SKETCH PREPARED BY LINCOLN FOR SCRIPPS, 1860.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN was a product of the library rather than a child of the school. Every public library in America should have the likeness of Lincoln, exhibited either on canvas or in bronze, as an example of what can be achieved by a boy with borrowed books. More and more is our educational program encouraging the student to work out his own mental salvation by contact with men in books, rather than with men in professors' chairs. We have Abraham's own clear statement relative to his contact with the public schools. In the sketch prepared for Mr. Fell he said: "Of course when I became of age I did not know much. Still somehow I could read write and cipher to the rule of three, but that was all. I have not been to school since. The little advance I now have upon this store of education I have picked up from time to time under the pressure of necessity." [1]

BOOKS

The scarcity of books in Kentucky at the time when Abraham Lincoln's parents were residents of the State has

been greatly exaggerated. Of course Abraham was not then able to read, and it is doubtful if books had a direct influence on the boy's life during the family's Kentucky sojourn. The presence of good books in a community, however, and the arrival of newspapers at the loafing-places of the men, exerted a big influence on the pioneer communities and indirectly influenced the entire population.

In 1795 Lexington, Kentucky, had already established a public library. This was the first public library in the West, and it was incorporated in 1800. Private libraries, however, exerted the greatest influence over the pioneers. In 1797 Joseph Barnett died near Elizabethtown. In the sale of his estate the following books were listed: one law-book, one Dutch Testament, one dictionary, two volumes of Blain's Sermons, five old books, three books of Adams's works, one volume on the French Revolution, seven miscellaneous books, Adams's "Defense of the American Constitution," a Roman history, a gazetteer, and a copy of the "Spectator." [2] At Bardstown, Kentucky, not many miles from where Thomas Lincoln was living and but two years after the boy Lincoln was born, the estate of Philip Quinton was settled. One hundred and seventy-four books were listed and sold to his son for $545.50.[3] While the Lincolns were living in Elizabethtown Thomas Lincoln attended a sale and made some purchases; he saw twelve lots of books sold, one lot as cheap as thirty-seven cents, but he purchased none.[4]

I have before me now some old Kentucky newspapers. I notice that one of them, the "Reporter," published at Lexington on Saturday, October 6, 1810, is in its third

volume. Another one, the "Bardstown Repository," published December 5, 1815, is Copy No. 197. I discovered these old papers and others in Hardin County. This shows the wide circulation of early Kentucky newspapers. The first newspaper in the State was printed at Lexington on August 11, 1787, and was called the "Kentucke Gazette."

As I look over the old papers before me I notice in the "Bardstown Repository," referred to above, an advertisement under the caption, "Removal of the Book Store." The advertisement states that the book-store has changed hands, and the new proprietors announce that "they intend keeping constantly on hand a general assortment of books of the most approved authors with school books of every description." Just below this advertisement in the same column is another notice as follows: "Those gentlemen having in possession books of the subscriber's will please leave them with Mr. J. M'Meekin. DAVID G. COWAN, Bardstown December 3, 1815." [5] An advertisement appears in another paper which mentions the following books for sale: "William Bard has just received from Philadelphia a new collection of valuable books consisting in part of the following viz: Scotts Family Bible, Carey's Family Bible, Mayor's Universal History, Marshall's Life of Washington, Dufiel's Latin and English Dictionary, Bibbs Reports and Noell's Collection of Hymns." [6]

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

We have not intended to lay emphasis on the library facilities of Kentucky. We shall find that long before

Abraham Lincoln was born Kentucky had planned a creditable school system. So far as the direct influence of these schools on Abraham Lincoln is concerned, it matters little how far advanced they were at the time he attended them. It would be of little import if the teacher who was to instruct a boy under eight years old was not versed in several branches of science; if he was able to teach letters and figures and some simple problems with each, he would fill the requirements for instructing a young child.

The status of education in Kentucky during these early years should be discussed because of its indirect influence on Abraham Lincoln. His parents and his Kentucky and Indiana teachers came under this influence, and the very community was more or less affected by the type of education in the State. We shall be interested in this chapter in discussing three types of instruction: higher education, which trained the professional men with whom the Lincolns came in contact; secondary education established in the county-seats or centers of population by the State or by religious orders; and the subscription schools which convened in scores of log cabins throughout the commonwealth.

Higher Education

The fact that Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky, the oldest Institution of higher learning west of the Alleghanies, is the alma mater of the writer, may account for the interest he has taken in the educational status of pioneer Kentucky. The hostility shown by a recent State legislature toward the teaching of scientific

studies in the State university, when the legislature came within one vote of placing a ban on the teaching of certain branches of science, does not speak well for a State which had such an auspicious beginning in the field of education.[7]

In 1780 the legislature of Virginia passed a law confiscating the lands of British subjects and setting them aside for the endowment of Transylvania. The first tract sold consisted of two thousand acres of land near Louisville, and this was supplemented by the further sale of holdings until thirty thousand dollars had been realized.[8]

The language of the act of the legislature is of sufficient interest to warrant its presentation here:

> An act to vest certain escheated lands in the county of Kentucky in trustees for a public school.
>
> Whereas it is represented to the general assembly that there are certain lands within the County of Kentucky formerly belonging to British subjects not yet sold under the law of escheats and forfeiture which might at a future date be a valuable fund, for the maintenance and education of youth, and it being the interest of this commonwealth always to premote and encourage every design which may tend to the improvement of the mind and the diffusion of useful knowledge even among the most remote citizens whose situation a barbarious neighborhood and savage intercourse might otherwise render unfriendly to science. . . .[9]

This seat of learning was first known as Transylvania Seminary. Later a union was effected with Kentucky Academy, and the institution became known as Transylvania University. It continued under this name until 1865, when it changed its name to Kentucky University. A few years ago it again appropriated the name Transyl-

vania, first being called Transylvania University and more recently Transylvania College.

After Kentucky became a State in 1792, Transylvania began to receive patronage from the new commonwealth. One appropriation of five thousand dollars is recorded as early as 1820. This fund was to be used exclusively for books, and it supplemented some very fine collections that had already found their way to the new university. As early as 1825 there were registered at the institution 320 students, 184 of whom were enrolled as medical students.

Among the alumni of Transylvania who came in contact with Abraham Lincoln were Henry Clay, Jefferson Davis, and John C. Breckenridge, the last being one of Lincoln's opponents in the presidential race of 1860. Among other famous men who have been sent out by this old institution are David Rice Atchison, Richard M. Johnson, Francis P. Blair Jr., George Rogers Clark, and in later years Champ Clark, James Lane Allen, John Fox, Jr. Ninety-five United States congressmen, forty-one United States senators, thirty-one governors, thirty foreign ministers, and sixteen cabinet officers received their education at this comparatively small university.

Secondary Education

The State before the beginning of the century had established several academies in the growing pioneer communities, and in 1799 it established such an institution in Elizabethtown, Hardin County. The writer, while searching through old discarded records, came across a small "trustees' book" of Elizabethtown Academy. It

had been used continuously by the trustees of the academy from April 23, 1799, until September 22, 1856. The book-store sticker remains on the inside of the front cover and shows that the blank-book came from "Warner and Hanna, No. 37 Market St., corner of South Gay street, Baltimore."

The first entry is as follows:

> 23 day of April 1799, Hardin County, to wit be it remembered that on the 23rd. day of April 1799, in pursuance of an act of the Kentucky Legislature passed on the 22 day of December 1799 establishing an academy in said county. A board of trustees for said Academy met at the house of Mr. James Crutcher in Elizabethtown. Present: John Paul, Thomas Helm, John Vertreese, sen. Patrick Brown, Bladin Ashby & Benjamin Helm Gentlemen.[10]

The first order was "to contract with some one to locate and procure a title to the said six thousand acres of land granted to the said academy."[11] By the time Thomas Lincoln and Nancy, his wife, arrived in Elizabethtown from Washington County in 1806, a new school-house was under construction. Thomas Lincoln may have been employed to work on this very house. It was a two-story log structure twenty-four feet square. There were four windows of the lower room, each containing twelve lights of eight-by-ten glass. Tongue-and-groove oak floors were put on downstairs and a poplar floor upstairs. The building was covered with "good lapped shingles well put on the sap taken off." The fireplace in the lower room was to be six feet "in the clear" and in the upper room three and one half feet.[12]

This school answered the purpose of an academy until

1814, when the trustees conferred with a committee from the Severns Valley Baptist Church about the feasibility of building a combination structure to be used jointly by the school and the church. This move did not materialize, however, and the school trustees then ordered the construction of a new brick school building.[13] This building was erected while the Lincolns lived in Hardin County, and Abraham, on his visits to the county-seat as a small boy, saw the new school that was the pride of the county.

The courses of study and the discipline at the academy in Elizabethtown are of interest. In 1806 the term began in August and continued until the following April. The teacher was ordered to "attend at the school house on each school day at two hours by the sun in the morning, ready to preceed to business." [14] The children were given two hours' intermission at noon during the fall, and one and one quarter hours during the winter. A monitor was appointed each week to keep the record, and all non-attendants were supposed to bring written excuses for being absent. The trustees visited the school regularly and reported the progress made. One report returned showed that "the scholars had made considerable progress and that the teacher derserved our applause." [15] At the conclusion of the term ending on August 12, 1807, the following order was entered on record: "that the clerk of the board do advertise that the present school will expire on the twelfth day of this instant, and that there will be an exhibition on the fourteenth instant." [16]

That the trustees intended to have discipline in the school is suggested by the order entered on Saturday, August 23, 1806: "Ordered that the said master use his best

endeavor to suppress card playing, gambling of all kinds, cussing, swearing, and all unseemly language, and conduct amongst the scholars; also that he suppress all talking, whispering and all kinds of disorderly conduct in the school. He is also to prevent the said scholars from climbing, shooting pop-guns, bows and arrows and pin guns, prevent throwing stones at one another or any other thing or weapon that is dangerous." [17] Three years later a regulation not quite so detailed was drawn: "The method of teaching shall be left with the teacher with these injunctions on him, that he must endeavor to keep the school in due order, during school hours, the scholars closely employed without bustle, noise or confusion." [18]

The courses of studies at the Hardin Academy varied with the instructors. Samuel Haycraft, who wrote the "History of Elizabethtown," gives us the first curriculum which was scheduled during the term he attended in 1806. In his own words we learn "the course was mostly spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, English Grammar and geography. He, however, had a class of six in Latin. I was one of that class." [19] We may take it for granted that the course improved from year to year; and by 1816, the year the Lincolns left Hardin for Indiana, a comprehensive course of study was being offered. The tuition at this time was well established and varied with the enrolment as follows: "for the English Language Gramatically, & use of the Globes, Arithmetic etc. $15.00. Geometry, Plain and Spherical Trigenometry with their application to surveying Navigatian and Astronomy, Dialing, Gauging, etc., Algebra and Fluxions, $30.00." [20] Most of the biographers of Lincoln give him an educational setting in

Kentucky such as existed about twenty-five years before Abraham was born.

Two of the teachers of Elizabethtown Academy would naturally exert more influence on the Lincoln family than other instructors in the local school; namely, Samuel Stephenson and Duff Green.

Samuel Stephenson

Three months after the marriage of Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, Samuel Stephenson started his school in the town in which they had began keeping house. One of Stephenson's pupils testified to his efficiency as a teacher, and his popularity is suggested by an order made during the second term of his administration, in which "he is not allowed to take more scholars than forty, unless he has an assistant." [21]

One of the requirements made upon Stephenson as a teacher relative to the subscription was that "he be at the trouble of collecting the money." [22]

During the two years Stephenson taught, the trustees were very complimentary about his work and the school made much progress. In 1809, however, he declined to take the school again, but, remaining in Elizabethtown, he became the tavern-keeper. He later became one of the town's merchants. As long as he lived in the town he was one of the trustees of the school and for several years president of the board. An entry in the trustees' book under the date of April 25, 1820, gives us the time of his

removal: "Samuel Stephenson a member of the board has removed out of this state, his seat is therefore declared vacant." [23]

Duff Green

The most celebrated teacher of Hardin County Academy during the Lincolns' residence in the county was General Duff Green. He was elected as teacher on August 7, 1812, and continued in this capacity until August 28, 1816. He was a son of William Green and was born in Woodford County, Kentucky, on August 15, 1791.[24] At the time he was first employed at the academy he was about twenty-one years old. On November 25, 1813, he married Miss Lucretia Edwards, a sister of Governor Ninian Edwards.[25] Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards was a sister of Mary Todd who married Abraham Lincoln. After Green retired as teacher in the academy he purchased a partnership in the mercantile business with Major Ben Helm, but sold out in 1817. For the next thirty years General Duff Green was one of the most influential men in the activities of the government. The writer will not attempt to review the history of this man of affairs after he left Kentucky. When Abraham Lincoln became president he undoubtedly felt Green's power. The writer recently came across a book under the following title-page: "A Key to the Disunion Conspiracy by Beverly Tucker of Virginia, Secretly printed in Washington in the year 1836 by Duff Green for circulation in the Southern States." The general died in Dalton, Georgia, on June 10, 1875.

Primary Education

We have thus far discussed indirect educational influences thrown about Abraham Lincoln. We shall now present some direct contacts with a log-cabin school and its teachers. We must not lead the reader to believe that the course of study given in the log school-house which Lincoln attended was parallel to that of the academy, although in reality the course for smaller children in a school with but few pupils was much more thorough than in the larger academies where a large enrolment gave opportunity for less individual attention. We are fortunate in having a document which shows a school with a rather illiterate teacher, somewhat below the standard of the Lincoln school, as we are inclined to think. The following agreement between teacher and patrons of this school was made in the spring of 1817, just after the Lincolns had left the county. This copy the writer carefully made, paying attention to capitalization, punctuation, and spelling, as the original contract is evidently written by the teacher.

Article of agreement made and concluded on by and between Edmund C. Tabb of harden County and State of Kentucky of the one Part and under named Subscribers of The other part witnesseth that I the said Tabb doth agree to Teach Children Reading Writing and arrithmetic for the Sum of four dollars for each Subscribed Schollar for the Space of Six months The Teacher is to Have a Comfortable house answerable for the Business the Teacher is to have his boarding with the Schollars further I the said Tabb Reserves Evry Satturday in each Week for himself the school to commence N.B. [April 15, 1817] and to teach good Rules and Due hours.[26]

It is likely that reading, writing, and arithmetic were the only studies taught in the Knob Creek school, but we

know that at least one of the teachers was better prepared to teach than the party of the first part in the above contract.

While many of the early schools were taught in the homes of the pioneers, the fact that the average home had but one room would not allow much progress to be made either in education or in housekeeping. Long before the beginning of the century these log structures were erected. The first one the writer has been able to locate in Hardin County is mentioned in an old road report that called for a survey from Miller's Ferry to Hardin County Courthouse. It designated the course as follows: "Beginning at Carnihan's oald school house on the bank of the river then down the river to the mouth of Doe Run." [27] This entry was made on July 22, 1800. The fact that it was an "oald" house in 1800 suggests early efforts at education.

There is one log-cabin school-house in Hardin County in which we have a particular interest, and that is the one which Abraham Lincoln attended while the family lived on Knob Creek. It has been suggested by some biographers that there were no school-houses in Kentucky at this time and especially in that part of the country where the Lincolns lived. The writer was very glad to find, in this same bundle of old road reports heretofore mentioned, an order that definitely locates the school that Abraham Lincoln attended. It stood not far from where the present Athertonville school-house now stands at the fork of what were then known as the Cumberland Road and Pottinger's Creek Road. The latter road was "to intersect the old road [Cumberland] near the school house thence with the old road to Johnston's fork of Knob Creek." [28]

There still stands on this site a cabin which Mr. Barry, editor of the "Rolling Fork Echo," claims to be the original school-house. Before me I have a copy of a supplement to a 1922 almanac in which Mr. Barry supplied the following information: "Two miles further north brings you to Athertonville just as you enter, the first house on your left, a white frame two story residence, now occupied by Mr. C. E. Judd, in the lower south end room he [Abraham Lincoln] went to his first school." [29]

In 1919 E. W. Creal, editor of the "Larue County News," published a series of historical articles, discussing the different communities in Larue County. As Athertonville was one of these communities he wrote about the Lincoln school-house in these words:

> Like most communities in this county there have been four school sites and school buildings. The first building which we shall refer to later was built near the residence of the Ford place now Richardson, which served the community from about 1795 to 1820 according to nearest approximation obtainable . . . it is still standing and has been preserved and kept all these years for a particular reason, by the Ford family. It is without question, doubt or dispute the school attended by Abraham Lincoln for two terms when a resident of the Knob Creek Community . . . this small log house is still in a fair state of preservation and built with the large open fire place as were all in those early days. There is only one other of its kind in the knowledge of the writer in this or adjoining counties, and that is the one at Stone House Spring, the A. Ovesen place which is the upper room of the stone building, used as a milk house over a spring.[30]

The writer remembers this Lincoln school-house of which Mr. Creal speaks, but in less than a year after this article appeared in the "Larue County News" the cabin was torn down and the logs used for fire-wood. After in-

terviewing several old people in the immediate community of these two rival school-houses, we are unable to say to which one, if either, reference was made in the road order giving the location of the school that Lincoln attended.

One must not conclude that these were the only two schools in Hardin County that contended for the honor of having started Lincoln for the president's chair. Mr. Gore in his recent book locates Lincoln in three schools: one "where the town of Athertonville is now located," [31] another "over there in the woods," [32] and a third "near Hodgen's Mill." [33] The first is correct, the second is incorrect, the third is impossible. Lamon confuses an old log school that stood near Buffalo on what he terms the Friend Farm with the one Lincoln attended.[34] This school was some distance from the home where Lincoln was born and was probably attended by Dennis Friend Hanks instead of Lincoln.

The Knob Creek school which Lincoln attended was but two miles from his home. It was on the Old Cumberland Road, which was the main artery for travel from north to south through Kentucky. The Lincoln home was on this same road. As one of the teachers lived on the next farm to the Lincolns and the other on the Pottinger's Creek Road which joined the "Old Road" at the school-house, we may feel certain that it was the only school he attended.

It is not the school building but the teachers who instructed Abraham that primarily interests us here. In referring to these instructors Snider says, "Only names they are to us now, dim ghosts of wandering pedagogues on the frontier." [35] We want to make these pioneer

teachers real if we can, and especially those who directly influenced the life of Abraham Lincoln. Two of them, Zachariah Riney and Caleb Hazel, taught the Knob Creek school in Kentucky; another, Azel W. Dorsey, taught Abraham Lincoln in Indiana. Dorsey was a Hardin County farmer before going to Indiana. We shall not discuss Dorsey in this book, as he did not influence the Lincolns during their Kentucky residence.

Zachariah Riney

Just one fact has been known about Zachariah Riney heretofore. Virtually all the biographers have called him a Catholic. In this they are correct. When they attempted to connect him with some contemporaneous group in the community they did so by pure supposition. He is usually associated with the Trappists who came to Kentucky in 1805 and settled on Pottinger's Creek, not far from the Knob Creek home of the Lincolns.[36] While this brotherhood of monks might have in some measure influenced Riney, he was not associated with them, as his early residence in the State will show that he antedated their coming. His marriage bond is evidence that he was not affiliated with the group after they arrived.

Aside from Riney's religious affiliation, there is one tradition current about him which has the earmarks of the truth. The Hon. J. L. Nall, a descendant of Nancy Lincoln Brumfield, is the informant. He says, "When Lincoln was nominated President there were quite a number of old men living in Hardin County, among whom was old Riney, to whom the President went to school."[37]

If we can depend on the truth of this tradition we can, with the help of certain court records discovered by the writer, estimate the age of Riney when he became the teacher of Abraham Lincoln.

On April 2, 1796, the name of Zachariah Riney appears on the tax list of Washington County as a "white male over 21." [38] A year before that, however, his father, Thomas Riney, had died and he had been appointed administrator of the estate. We learn that he was the oldest child and had one brother, Basil, and three sisters, Anna, Mary, and Henrietta.[39] The youngest child, Henrietta, was already married by 1796. From this evidence we conclude that he must have been at least forty-five years old when he taught the Knob Creek School. He could not have been much older than this and been living in 1860, nor could he have been much younger and been the oldest child in a family of five with the youngest married as early as 1796.

Like most of the pioneer men, Riney outlived two wives. His first wife was named Margaret, and on February 12, 1824, Abraham Lincoln's fifteenth birthday, he married Sarah Bowles.[40] There is a bare possibility that this last marriage was the marriage of a son, if he had a son by that name, but the writer had been able to find but one Zachariah Riney. While this research was being pursued in the archives of the Nelson County Court-house the writer discovered the papers of an old lawsuit to which we have already referred in this book. The name Zachariah Riney is here associated with the names of Joseph Hanks, Sr., Joseph Hanks, Jr., William Hanks, Caleb Hazel, Elizabeth Hazel, and Margaret Riney.[41]

Zachariah Riney bought the farm on Rolling Fork near the mouth of Knob Creek and Pottinger's Creek on which Joseph Hanks, Sr., had settled and where he died. This Joseph is possibly the great-grandfather of Abraham Lincoln. Zachariah had moved to the Knob Creek community from Cartwright Creek in Washington County where he had known Thomas and Mordecai Lincoln. We must draw the conclusion from these facts that Riney was not a stranger to the Hanks clan when he became the teacher of a son of Nancy Hanks. The papers in this suit allow us to locate Riney in the Knob Creek community at just the time we need him there. Riney had difficulty getting a clear title to the land he had bought, and three indorsements on his deed are dated November 27, 1811, January 24, 1812, and November 12, 1814, respectively.[42] The suit over the title of the land was still in progress at the time the affidavit of Joseph Hanks, Jr., was taken on March 8, 1817, and it was not settled until June, 1819.[43] One of the deponents in the case swore that Zachariah Riney was living on the land while the suit was in progress.

There is some reflection on the character of Riney if we can believe the defendant in the suit, Compton by name. He says "that Riney is well versed in little tricks," implying that Riney had not been honest in his dealings.[44] The same deponent says that Riney's father was an excellent man. We learn from the suit which Riney and some of the other heirs of his father's estate brought against his youngest sister and her husband, John Wathen, that the elder Riney was possessor of slaves. He so made his will that these slaves could not be sold out of the family.[45]

Apparently John Wathen and his wife had taken possession of the slaves and refused to divide them among the children. We may infer from this that Riney was not antislavery and probably did not exert any influence over Abe one way or the other at this early date. There is no way of ascertaining the ability of Riney as a teacher.

Caleb Hazel

There were two men in Hardin County by the name of Caleb Hazel at the time Abraham Lincoln attended school on Knob Creek; they were father and son. Lea and Hutchinson say that the son rather than the father was the teacher of Lincoln.[46] We shall try to show that the father was the instructor, although we are not able to offer positive proof. In speaking of Caleb Hazel during this discussion we shall have in mind the father, and we shall designate the son as Caleb Hazel, Jr.

The writer has been unable to find the marriage bond of Caleb Hazel and Elizabeth Hall, widow of James Hall, whom he must have married before November 17, 1788. At this time he made a contract to pay to the children of James Hall "the sum of five pounds each" when they became of age, "it being compensation for the effects of their father James Hall which fell into my hands." [47] As was often the case in those days, when a widow married she desired to protect her children with a written agreement, and it is probable that the wedding had taken place shortly before this writing.

By December 9, 1789, Hazel had been living on Knob Creek long enough for a road order to call for the appoint-

ment of a surveyor from "Calob Hazel's Cabin on the waters of Knob Creek to William Hodgen's Mill." [48] This order definitely locates him in the Knob Creek community. In 1791 another order calls for the supervision of the road from the mouth of Knob Creek to Hazel's Cabin.[49] In 1795 he is appointed surveyor of this road.[50]

We first find Hazel coming in contact with the Hanks family when on January 10, 1794, he witnessed an indorsement on a deed. Joseph Hanks, who had inherited his father's property, sold out to his brother William, and Hazel, a neighbor, was called as a witness.[51]

The Hardin County grand jury on September 24, 1793, brought an indictment against Hazel "for retailing spirituous liquors by the small without a license, within the six months last past, known to two of our body." [52] We must not allow this offense to weigh too heavily against the character of Hazel, as the temptation to sell a glass of liquor to a thirsty traveler was very great, and whisky was a medium of exchange which the pioneer kept in stock.

In 1797 the Hardin County Court issued a license to Caleb Hazel "to keep an ordinary at his home on Knob Creek." [53] Wherever there was a good place for "a stand" on any of these early roads the pioneer could find lodging. For the protection of the migratory groups moving into the new country, the county fixed the prices of the commodities needed for both man and beast.

Either the business done at the "ordinary" had been a failure or it had been so brisk that it had attracted a lessee. Hazel, so a bill against him says, "on the seventeenth of March, 1798, by a written agreementical" . . . rented the place for six years to Conrad Suter for $51 per year.

Suter claimed that Hazel had refused to give possession.[54]

We find Hazel again in trouble in 1800 over some property he had owned on Knob Creek. He sold the land to one Lee, and before Lee had made all the payments he sold to Daniel Wade, tavern-keeper, of Elizabethtown. Hazel gave Wade a deed to the land, but Wade did not record it. Hazel then gave his son-in-law Henry Hall a deed for the same piece of property, making the date of this last deed antedate the deed given to Wade. In reply to Wade's bill against him, Hazel admitted all the charges in the bill. Hazel's answer was evidently written in his own hand, and the spelling, English, and penmanship showed Hazel to be a man of some education.[55]

We next find Hazel buying some property in Green County on January 1, 1806.[56] To the two hundred acres which he bought in Green County he probably moved, as one of his sons married in that county the following year.[57]

Hazel moved back to the Knob Creek community sometime before June 4, 1812, as we find him having difficulty with the Baptist Church on the Big South Fork. The order reads as follows: "Caleb Hazel gave the church satisfaction and restored him to fellowship again." [58]

On January 13, 1813, we come across Caleb Hazel, Jr., for the first time. The occasion for the record is his marriage to Polly Atherton.[59] The same year James Hanks, a son of William Hanks, married Polly's sister Rebeckah.[60] This son of the elder Hazel had been brought up in a pioneer community, and its meager educational privileges would hardly have been sufficient to make a

teacher out of him at this early date. Men in the cramped condition of his father were not sending their children away to school to secure an education at a time when the labor of a growing boy was needed about the place. Young Hazel and Hanks very early left Kentucky for the west, and we find, later on, both of them selling their rights to their father-in-law's estate in Kentucky.[61] Hazel at this time was in Missouri and Hanks in Illinois.

The most important of all the documents bearing on Caleb Hazel, Sr., is a marriage bond. When Elizabeth Hall Hazel died we do not know, but we are certain that when Hazel first became the teacher of Abraham Lincoln he was a widower. On October 12, 1816, two or three months before the Lincolns left for Indiana and when we might expect Abraham Lincoln to be in school, Caleb Hazel married Mary Stevens.[62] Thomas Lincoln was the bondsman for Hazel, which reveals a close relation between them. Thomas Lincoln on this occasion signs his own name.[63] We are positive that this is the marriage of the elder Hazel because of the certificate which the bride presents in order for Caleb to get the permit to marry her. It follows: "Sir: This is to certify that I, am far above the demands of the law, as I am under no one jurisdiction. Given under my hand this eleventh day of October, 1816."[64] She could not have married the younger Hazel, who three years before had married Polly Atherton. Polly was living as late as 1843.[65]

This might be the proper place to suggest the probable age of Caleb Hazel at the time he taught Abraham Lincoln. He married Mrs. Hall, a widow with five children, earlier than 1788. She was probably not less than thirty

years of age when she married Hazel. If Hazel was about her age, he would have been fifty-five years old when he became Lincoln's teacher. The book which records the wedding of Caleb Hazel and Mary Stevens names the preacher as William Downs. He was an outspoken anti-slavery man, and there is evidence that Hazel had pronounced views along this line. How long Caleb Hazel lived after the departure of the Lincolns we are unable to say. There is a tradition that he died while away from his home on a visit to one of his sons. Outside of the Lincoln family, Caleb Hazel, as closest neighbor and school-teacher probably exerted a greater influence over Abraham Lincoln than any other person during the Kentucky residence of the family.

CHAPTER XIV

RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT

If it be his [Thomas Lincoln's] lot to go now, he will have a joyous meeting with many loved ones gone before, and where the rest of us through the help of God, hope ere long to join them.

LINCOLN'S LETTER TO JOHN D. JOHNSTON, 1851.

THE religion of Abraham Lincoln has invited a more exhaustive study than any other single topic in Lincolniana. It is difficult to reconcile this fact with the knowledge that he was not a member of any organized church body. Regardless of his failure to affiliate with an orthodox religious group, he is recognized as the embodiment of the highest ideals of the Christian order. Hundreds of clergymen have testified to his soul culture, and to-day ministers are enthusiastic exponents of his sublime but simple faith. These facts lead us to review with some care the religious environment of his parents and the moral atmosphere that was productive of his noble character.

Three religious bodies claim to have exerted, directly or indirectly, an influence over the child Abraham through their contact with him or his parents. The Catholic church claims to have reached him directly through the Trappist monks who settled in the neighborhood of Knob Creek. The Methodist church has emphasized a close relation between its itinerant preachers and the parents of

the child. The Baptist church has submitted proof that the Lincolns were Baptists and that the child was brought up in a Baptist home. It is the purpose of this chapter to investigate these claims, and by the use of public documents to reproduce the religious environment of the Lincolns during their Kentucky residence.

Catholic Influences

The history of Catholicism in Kentucky is more easily traced than that of any other communion, because of the records still extant. Another source available is the history of the Catholic faith in Kentucky published by the Hon. Benjamin J. Webb. This book, under the caption "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky," was published in 1884.

The nucleus for the growth of the church in the West resulted from the formation of a league of sixty Catholic families living in or near St. Mary's County, Maryland. These pledged themselves to migrate to Kentucky within a specified time, and twenty-five families arrived in the State as early as the spring of 1785.[1] By 1792 there were five well defined colonies of Catholics within the territory that was then Nelson County.[2] Bardstown, the county-seat, became the center of Catholic influence west of the mountains.

The Pottinger's Creek settlement was the first to take definite form. It was established in 1785 by the first group of colonists. Here Holy Cross Church, the first Catholic church erected in the entire West, was built by Father de Rohan in 1792.[3]

In 1798 Basil Hayden sold "for the use of the Roman Catholic Church, forever, a certain tract or parcel of land containing two acres, more or less, situated, lying and being in the County of Washington on the waters of Pottinger's Creek including the chapel in the center."[4] Washington County had been separated from Nelson County in 1792.

The Trappists.—The story of the order of La Trappe in Kentucky covers two distinct periods, the first extending from 1805 to 1809, and the second beginning in 1848 and continuing to the present day. We shall be interested only in the earlier period, during which their effort to establish themselves in the Pottinger community proved to be a failure.

In 1804 the French members of the Order of Our Lady of La Trappe under the leadership of Urban Gillet came to America and settled at Pigeon Hills, near Conewago, Pennsylvania. By the next year the entire colony, consisting of twenty-five adults and several boys who had been taken in charge by the monks, moved to Kentucky and settled within one mile from where the Holy Cross Church was located in the Pottinger's Creek neighborhood. On the arrival of the monks in 1805 they established a school for boys.[5]

There are many traditions which convey the idea that Abraham Lincoln was taught by one of these monks as a small child, but this is not possible. The Trappists located within four miles of the site where the Lincoln Knob Creek home afterward stood. The Trappists left Kentucky the month after Lincoln was born and two years before the Lincolns moved to the Knob Creek home. There

were no monks in Kentucky during the residence of the Lincoln family in the State. Zachariah Riney, a teacher of Abraham, is often associated with the Trappists. While he was a Catholic, he was not a monk, and there is no evidence that he ever came under their teaching. It is doubtful if the Trappists had any influence on the Lincolns either directly or indirectly.

Father William de Rohan.—Father de Rohan is the only priest whom we find coming in direct contact with the Lincolns in Kentucky. It is likely that their acquaintance with him did not give them a favorable impression of the Catholic faith. Webb gives a brief sketch of his life, from which we make the following excerpts:

> He may be said to have been a clerical waif borne to the state on the rapidly advancing tide of immigration. . . . He belonged to an unfortunate class of priests . . . whose appetites for stimulants lead them to excess in their use. It was the cause of his subsequent forfeiture of his priestly faculties as well as of the years of comparative inutility that filled up the measure of his after life.

In 1792, the month and day not known, Mordecai Lincoln and Mary Mudd were married by Father de Rohan.[6] The Mudds were one of the pioneer families settling on Hardin's Creek in Washington County not far from where Bersheba Lincoln and her children settled after the massacre of the husband and father. While the life that Father de Rohan lived was detrimental to the Catholic faith, a more serious reflection was cast upon his labors by Father Badin, his successor, who declared "that all his [de Rohan's] marriages were irregular and null." According to Webb this decision was "a theological blunder," on

the part of Father Badin, who insisted that the couples should be married over again; and tradition says that one couple who had not been happily married took advantage of the annulment and chose different partners in the next matrimonial venture.[7]

The attitude taken by Mordecai Lincoln and Mary Mudd Lincoln toward Father Badin's demand is not known. That it placed Father de Rohan in a very unfavorable light we cannot doubt. The State must have been satisfied with his standing in the church, for on February 9, 1791, he was given a license to perform the rites of matrimony, "being fully satisfied William de Rohan is in regular communion with the Roman Catholic Church." [8]

Methodist Influences

Many recent biographers have chosen to place the Lincolns during their Kentucky residence in a Methodist environment. Three sources of information are responsible for this tendency; one of them is reliable, and the other two are pure fiction, as will be shown.

Thomas Lincoln was twice married, and on both occasions the officiating clergyman was a minister of the Methodist faith. This has been sufficient to justify the supposition that the Lincolns were Methodists and lived in Methodist communities. Evidence is available to show that Thomas Lincoln and both of his brides were living in regions where the Methodist church had little influence at the time these weddings took place. Peter Cartwright's later association with Abraham Lincoln has led

some to use the Pioneer Sky-Pilot as a type of the itinerant preacher most often to be found in the Kentucky territory.

Elizabethtown Camp-Meeting.—Few traditions relating to the parents of the president have received such wide circulation and universal acceptance as the camp-meeting scene at Elizabethtown. John B. Helm, who claims to have been an eye-witness of the performance, supplied the details of his observations to William Herndon in manuscript form August, 1865. The story as it appears in the Herndon biography is as follows:

The Hanks girls were great at camp-meetings. I remember one in 1806. I will give you a scene, and if you will then read the books written on the subject you may find some apology for the superstition that was said to be in Abe Lincoln's character. It was a camp-meeting as before said, when a general shout was about to commence. Preparations were being made; a young lady invited me to stand on a bench by her side where we could see all over the altar. To the right a strong athletic young man, about twenty-five years old was being put in trim for the occasion which was done by divesting him of all apparel except shirt and pants. On the left a young lady was being put in trim in much the same manner, so that her clothes would not be in the way, and so that when her combs flew out her hair would go into graceful braids. She, too, was young, not more than twenty perhaps. The performance commenced about the same time by the young man on the right and the young lady on the left. Slowly and gracefully they worked their way towards the center, singing, shouting, hugging and kissing, generally their own sex, until at last nearer and nearer they came. The center of the altar was reached, and the two closed with their arms around each other, the man singing and shouting at the top of his voice,

"I have my Jesus in my arms
Sweet as honey strong as bacon ham."

Just at this moment the young lady holding to my arm whis-

pered, "They are to be married next week, her name is Hanks." They were very few who did not believe this true religion, inspired by the Holy Spirit, and the man who could not believe it, did well to keep it to himself. The Hankses were the finest shouters and singers in the country.[9]

Herndon says by way of comment that he was not able to learn whether or not the young lady shouter was the president's mother, but he rather believed that she was. He drops the suggestion that there is a probability that the young man may have been Thomas Lincoln, but it would be difficult to say. Those who have used this story, however, have not hesitated to assume that these two young people at the Methodist camp-meeting were the Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks who were married that year.

We shall set apart certain statements in the tradition and view them in the light of historical data, using Herndon's introductory statement, which apparently came from the same manuscript:

"A camp meeting held in Elizabethtown, Ky."; "I remember one in 1806"; "a young lady invited me to stand on a bench by her side"; "the young lady holding to my arm whispered, 'They are to be married next week, her name is Hanks.' "

The biographical sketch of John B. Helm by Samuel Haycraft says he was born in 1797.[10] This would make him sixty-eight years old when he sent Herndon the letter containing the detailed story of a camp-meeting held fifty-nine years before. Haycraft, Helm's biographer, also says that the Helm family lived in Washington County, where young John B. was born,

until 1809 or 1810, and then they moved to Breckenridge County.[11] Either home was at least twenty miles from Elizabethtown, the place of the camp-meeting. Helm, born in 1797, was but nine years old in 1806, the time of the religious service in question. He was a rather young lad to travel such a long distance to attend a camp-meeting. His age apparently did not prevent him from receiving an invitation from a "young lady" to occupy a bench by her side, and when she took his arm she must have felt proud of her broad-shouldered escort on whom she could lean for support. It must have been thrilling for this nine-year-old boy to learn that the two lovers performing before the altar were to be married the next week. Certainly he had never forgotten that her name was Hanks through all the fifty-nine years that had passed. We do not question that John B. Helm at one time attended a camp-meeting in Elizabethtown and witnessed a scene similar to the one described. Most of the Helms were Methodists, and the revival mentioned may have formed the nucleus for the Methodist church now known in Elizabethtown as the Lucinda B. Helm Memorial Church.

Knob Creek Camp-Meeting.—The other traditional source for the Methodist background, which of necessity has an emotional setting, is not a single tradition, but a series of purely imaginary scenes possibly suggested by Austin Gollaher, the traditional boyhood playmate of Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Gore, the compiler, suggests in the preface of his work that he has "dramatized Mr. Gollaher's reminiscences." Two of these scenes will be suf-

ficient to illustrate how the stories, if taken seriously, would suggest a Methodist religious background for the Lincolns:

> Directly facing the pulpit was a long bench—the mourners bench—built upon stump-like legs, while scattered promiscuously through the grove were logs and smoothed-off stumps,—pews of the members of the Knob Creek Congregation. This ideal spot for a camp-meeting was known for miles around as the "Church of Maple Trees." . . . Mrs. Lincoln was a devoutly religious woman and never tired trying to promote the religious welfare of the community. . . . Thomas Lincoln was not so enthusiastic as his wife, but he attended the meetings and often became deeply interested, even excited over the matter of his soul's salvation. Because of his roving disposition he was not counted as one of the community's substantial citizens and the sincerity of his camp-meeting conversions was doubted by his neighbors.
>
> A camp-meeting was now in its height in the Church of Maple Trees. . . . Thomas Lincoln became deeply interested in this particular meeting and on the second day he sought the mourners bench and on the third day prayed aloud when called on by the Reverend Mr. Gentry.[12]

This camp-meeting, of course, suggests that the Lincolns were Methodists. But the "Church of Maple Trees" mentioned by Gore, "known for miles around," was not known well enough to be mentioned in the authoritative history, "Methodism in Kentucky," by Redford, neither does Redford mention a Rev. Mr. Gentry as an itinerant preacher. The writer is positive that there was no Methodist organization on Knob Creek at the time the Lincolns lived there.

Another short excerpt from Gore will suggest the source of much of the superstitious element credited to Thomas Lincoln by Stephenson:

You see father [Thomas Lincoln] doesn't exactly believe in ghosts, but he says that he has seen lots of funny things in the woods at night, and for that reason he doesn't like to be out after dark. Once he was sure he saw an Indian war-dance. I can just barely remember one night when we lived on Cave Spring Farm, father came home nearly scared to death. He told mother he saw a big giant riding a lion through the woods, and that the lion and the man actually tore down the trees as they galloped and roared through the timber.[13]

Such traditions as these led Stephenson to say that the religion of the pioneer was "ecstasy in home spun, a glory of violent singing the release of a frantic emotion; formless and immeasurable, which at all other times in the severity of the forest routine, gave no sign of its existence." [14] Those who accept such exhibitions, as typical of the primitive faith on the frontiers of American civilization evidently have never secured first-hand evidence of the rigid discipline of the early church. If there ever was a religion that functioned during the week-days as well as on Sundays, it was the type found among the pioneers.

Another phase of the religious influence of the pioneer which has been greatly exaggerated is the type suggested by another writer who says it was "a peculiar, intense, but unenlightened form of religion, mingled with curious superstition prevalent in the back woods." [15] The tendency of the group with which Thomas Lincoln was associated was toward a type of rationalism that some of the religious bodies of to-day have not acquired. There is no proof whatever for the weird stories which have gained circulation about the superstition of Thomas Lincoln and his emotional faith.

The Rev. Jesse Head.—The celebrity given to the Rev. Jesse Head in recent years will not necessitate our accepting the accusation of some early biographers that he was a purely traditional character. There is plenty of evidence now available to support the statement that he married Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks and had authority of both state and church to do so. While it would be possible to follow his career up to the time of his death, we shall only be interested in his activities up to the day he officiated at the Lincoln-Hanks wedding in 1806.

Jesse Head was born in Frederick County, Maryland, on June 10, 1768, and was the son of William Edward Head.[16] He married Miss Jane Ramsey, daughter of Robert Ramsey, on January 7, 1789. The first evidence we have of his appearance in Washington County, Kentucky, is an entry on the commissioners' tax book for 1797 when he entered for taxation fifty acres of land on Road Run and one horse.[17] On December 5 of the same year an orphan boy, David Rodman, was bound out to Head "to learn the art of a cabinet maker." [18]

At the February court, 1798, Jesse took the oath that made him a justice of the peace for Washington County. In one of the first cases to come before the new magistrate, Mordecai Lincoln, uncle of the president, was the plaintiff. Head found judgment against Lincoln, who, however, appealed. The county court at the April session of 1798 sustained the judgment of the magistrate.[19]

It is also in 1798 that we are advised of Head's religious inclinations, for he had become by this time a recognized preacher of the Methodist church.[20] Although he played the rôles of farmer, cabinet-maker, justice of the

peace, and preacher, he aspired to one more public office. Evidently he had not been informed that it was against the law to hold more than one public office at the same time. After he had secured the appointment of postmaster, action was brought against him, and the grand jury found a true bill; he had been guilty of being a justice of the peace and postmaster at the same time.[21]

The same month in which he is first recognized as a preacher this order appears on the county record book: "Ordered that Jesse Head and Benjamin Pile Esquires, be and they are hereby appointed to employ some person to erect stocks, pillory, and a whipping post upon the public square in Springfield." [22] There is evidence that as early as May, 1798, Jesse had moved to Springfield. In the commissioners' book for this year he listed two town lots.[23]

During Jesse Head's residence at Springfield he was a very busy man, his name appearing continually in the orders of the court. At the April term of 1798, "William Head and Edward Head infant orphans of William R. Head made choice of Jesse Head as guardian.[24] The following April two boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one were listed by Jesse; they were probably these orphan children.[25] During the same year Head was made a trustee of the town of Springfield, and the following year he succeeded Felix Grundy as chairman of the board.[26]

Much has been said about the influence that Jesse Head exerted over Thomas Lincoln and his wife in regard to the slavery question. I was very much surprised to find that on July 2, 1803, Head listed three blacks for

taxation.[27] Having often read of his antislavery tendency I immediately sought to verify this entry from other evidence. This I found in Harrodsburg, where Head later resided. The tax lists were available for 1811 and also for the eleven succeeding years. I found in every case that one or two blacks were listed with Jesse Head's property.

We have learned that as early as 1798 Jesse Head was preaching in the State. We are indebted to Mr. L. S. Pence of Lebanon for this information; he has in his possession a book entitled "Court Martials in Nelson County Kentucky." Under the date of May 25, 1798, is found the following entry: "Jesse Head returned as a delinquent is cleared off muster roll, he having a license to preach according to the rules of the sect to which he belongs." [28]

The most valuable discovery relative to the religious status of Jesse Head was made by the writer just in time to include the findings in this book. It removes forever the question of Jesse Head's authority for marrying Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks. In an order book for Washington County under the date of February 7, 1803, this order is recorded: "On the motion of Jesse Head a minister of the gospel of the Methodist Episcopal Church who made oath a testimonial is granted him to solemnize the rites of matrimony on his giving bond in three days in the clerks office with Edward Clarkson and William H. Hayes his securities." [29]

Before the date of this order marriages performed by Jesse Head were solemnized under his authority as a justice of the peace. The court now authorized him to re-

cite the wedding formula as a minister of the church. One more step was taken by the preacher before he had occasion to solemnize his most important wedding. According to Redford, the historian, the Western Conference of the Methodist church for 1805 was held at Griffiths in Scott County. Bishop Asbury and Bishop Whatcoat were present. It was here that Jesse Head was raised to the office of deacon and ordained along with the following brethren: Adget McGuire, Abraham Amos, William Patterson, Anthony Houston, Joseph Oglesby, John McGuire, John Meek, and Abner Leonard.[30] After this date his official wedding returns were signed "Jesse Head D.M.E.C." (Deacon Methodist Episcopal Church).

We are not inclined to believe that Jesse Head was selected to perform the Lincoln matrimonial rites for any other reason than his availability at the time he was needed. While his early residence was not far from the Lincolns, there is no evidence that there was any religious affiliation with them that would account for the service rendered on this occasion. With the possible exception of 1801 and 1802, Thomas Lincoln had found little opportunity of making the acquaintance of Jesse Head. He probably heard him preach, but their religious connections were not the same. There is no evidence that Methodist preachers or the Methodist church as a body made any special contribution to the religious environment of the Lincolns in any of their Kentucky settings.

Baptist Influences

The term "Baptist" may have been sufficient to designate this body of Christians at some early date, but there

have been and still are so many kinds of Baptists that it has failed to designate any definite form of belief with relation to other religious bodies with the exception of its general attitude toward the rite of baptism. We shall depend largely upon Spencer, the recognized historian of Kentucky Baptists, to supply our source material for the status of the church in the State while the Lincolns lived there. To supplement his work we have had access to some original church record books covering the same period.

The first compilation made by Spencer exhibiting the many Baptist designations follows, with his introductory comment: "They still bore the name of Baptists, to which they had prefixed such prenonyms as 'Old,' 'Old School,' 'Primitive,' 'Predestination,' 'Original,' 'Particular,' 'Regular,' and in one small association at least 'Anti-Missionary.' " [31] The writer has been able to compile from Spencer and other contemporaneous histories many more prefixes which at some time have been in common use, or which continue to designate the different branches of the church: "Arminian," "Close Communion," "General," "Free Will," "Foot-washing," "Hard-shell," "Hyper-Calvinist," "Missionary," "Northern," "Sabbatarian," "Soft-shell," "Southern," "Two-Seed," and "United." The term "Baptist" has ceased to become a distinguishing name if used without a prefix.

Writers attempting to classify the parents of Lincoln among the Baptists, during their Kentucky residence, have placed them in several groups. Herndon says that "Thomas Lincoln first affiliated with the Free Will Baptists." [32] But before he proceeded in the argument a

dozen pages he concluded that Abraham Lincoln's "early Baptist training made him a fatalist." [33] Calvinism and Arianism were evidently the same in the Herndon theology. Dr. Barton suggests that "Thomas Lincoln probably belonged to the old Two-seed-in-the-spirit-predestination Baptists." [34] In this Dr. Barton is wrong. According to Spencer, the Two-seed doctrine was not preached among the Baptists until 1820, four years after the Lincolns left Kentucky. Daniel Parker, the founder of this sect, formerly from Tennessee, was then living in southern Illinois.[35] It was 1826 before the doctrine became generally accepted by any considerable group. A pamphlet that Parker published that year was responsible for its wider acceptance. Thomas B. McGregor, assistant attorney-general of Kentucky, has this to say about the religion of Lincoln's parents: "Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks were married by a Methodist minister by the name of Jesse Head, but shortly afterwards they were united with one of the churches of the Baptist Licking-Locust Association of Regular Baptist Churches in Kentucky." [36] The Lincolns were not members of the Regular Baptist church while in Kentucky but belonged to the Separate Baptists. The doctrinal beliefs of the separate Baptists as distinguished from the Regular Baptists may be briefly stated in some excerpts from Spencer's history.

The Regulars had adopted the Philadelphia Confession of Faith with some specified modification as an expression of their doctrine. The Separates refused to adopt "any creed but the Bible." [37]

Originally the Separate Baptists were more extreme Calvinists than the Regular Baptists; but refusing to adopt any creed or

confession of faith they were constantly changing in their doctrinal views. They also had a wide diversity of opinion among themselves. The Regulars especially in the middle and southern states generally adopted the London Baptist confession of Faith, or rather the American edition of the instrument which was called the Philadelphia Confession of Faith. The Separate Baptists of Virginia finally adopted the Philadelphia confession of faith almost unanimously, and thereby paved the way for an easy union between them and the Regular Baptists which was happily consummated in that state in 1787. But in Kentucky they were much divided on the subject, a majority, however, opposing all human creeds and refusing to have even rules of order or decorum written. This led to an extensive division among them. The more Calvinistic, including all of their most valuable preachers, united with the regulars in the new country, adopted the confession of faith and henceforth traveled with them in much harmony. The Arminian party of the Separates, constantly diverged farther and farther from the common standard of orthodoxy, till many grievous heresies crept in among them, as will be seen in the progress of their history.[38]

We may conclude from these statements that the Separate Baptists in Kentucky were Arminians, since the Calvinist branch united with the Regulars. We may also draw the conclusion that except for their name and manner of baptism there was virtually no point of contact between the two bodies. Spencer says that "most of them practiced open communion."[39] If it were our purpose to follow the majority of these Arminian congregations to their ultimate goal we should find that they soon ceased to wear the name "Baptist" at all. According to Spencer, "In 1830 the Arminian element was sloughed off with the Campbellite faction."[40]

This rather full discussion of the Separate Baptists has been presented because it was this body with which the Lincolns were affiliated during their Kentucky residence.

It will be our purpose to present as briefly as possible sketches of the Baptist churches that were functioning in the communities where the Lincolns lived. By far the most interesting features we will find are the disciplinary measures used to keep the members true to the principles of Christianity.

Severns Valley Baptist Church.—The Severns Valley organization is the oldest Baptist church west of the Alleghany Mountains. It was established on June 17, 1781, under a green sugar-tree near Haynes Station, now Elizabethtown. The church was constituted with eighteen members by Elders William Taylor and Joseph Barnett. Elder John Gerrard became the first pastor. Three slaves, Mark, Bambo, and Dinah, the property of Jacob Vanmeter, were included in its original membership.[41] For many years after its origin it included two distinct groups, one living in Elizabethtown, and the other meeting on Nolin, near where Hodgenville is situated. In 1803 a separate constitution was granted the brethren on Nolin, the memorandum showing 105 members at Nolin and 47 at the valley.[42] The writer is fortunate in having had access to the original record book of the Severns Valley Church for the period from January 27, 1787, to August, 1793. It is from this book that we are able to draw an accurate picture of the status of the church in Elizabethtown during Thomas Lincoln's sojourn there during 1797 and at the time of his final settlement in the county in 1802.

The minutes of the Severns Valley Baptist Church enable us to appreciate the severe disciplinary measures in vogue during the period when Thomas Lincoln was grow-

ing to manhood. Many records of other churches for a later period suggest that this same strict discipline was enforced during the childhood of Abraham Lincoln.

We shall review briefly some of the charges brought against members of this early church to show how strict an interpretation of Christian morals the church enforced.

In 1787 Ann Rawlings was excommunicated as "an utter despiser of religion, and frolicking and dancing." [43] The conscience of the early church relative to dancing was rather pronounced, as in 1794 "a charge was brought against Brother Phillips for allowing frolicking about his Home and for indulging his children to go to them." [44] This action was probably the result of a resolution passed in 1789 in which it was "made and agreed unto that it is the duty of all heads of families in this church to keep those of their families that are under their care under the same order and discipline as they themselves are bound to observe both in their walk and conversation." [45]

The adults as well as the youth were warned about certain types of amusements and the danger of coming in contact with them. In 1802 "some of the members informed the church of Brother John Haycraft's misconduct in riding his horse round the race ground." [46]

Much has been said about the attitude of the early church toward intoxication. While it is possible that drinking may have been countenanced, it is apparent that intoxication was not. One member who was brought before the church "confessed his fault and professing repentance for the same and promising to guard against drinking spirituous liquors to excess he is restored to his

seat again." Another member was accused of "intoxicating himself." [47]

The grand juries in this early day were alert in enforcing the law relative to the use of profane language, but the church was even more vigorous in the prosecution of this misdemeanor than was the law. In reference to a member who was excluded it was said, "his conduct has not been becoming to the Gospel as it is the public talk of his using very vulgar language." [48] Not only must the member in good standing keep clear of profanity and vulgar talk, but he must also speak the truth and be free from charges of slander and gossip. In 1789 one sister "had disguised the truth"; another was guilty of "aspersing his character without any just cause"; still another sister was guilty of "spreading evil reports on one of her relations." The charge of "falsifying the Truth" was vigorously prosecuted.

Women not only offended in "falsifying," but occasionally one was excluded for "her misconduct towards her neighbors and expressing herself in an unmodest and an unchristian like manner." [49] In 1784 a complaint was brought against a woman for charging a brother of "being a cheat in public manner." [50] During the same year a sister brought a complaint against another "for keeping a reed that was her property and failing to return it." [51]

The men, while not often charged with gossiping, were often reprimanded for pugilistic tendencies. In 1794 one brother was "suspended for aspursing the character of Brother Phillips in saying that he was a liar." [52] That was fighting language, and the brethren were apparently

trying to remove the cause for fighting. The following month after the above disorder another brother is asked to appear to "answer the charge against him of quarreling." [53] A certain black man by the name of Spencer seems to have been an offender in this regard, as we first find a charge against him "for offering to fight with his brethren," and later "Black Spencer is excluded for fighting." Another order at this same session excludes "Black Rachel for swearing and other bad conduct." [54]

Not only did the pioneers withdraw fellowship from the gossiper and the fighter but they demanded that the brethren should be on good terms with each other. In 1790 two brethren "were cited to appear on this day and show their reason why that brotherly love did not abound between them as ought to remain between members of one church." [55] As one of the above brethren "continued in his obstinacy in refusing to hear the church in the accusation formerly laid against him it is now concluded that he shall be secluded." [56] This action was taken after several attempts had been made to get the brother to conform to the scriptural injunction, and the approach was made in the real apostolic manner.

South Fork Baptist Church.—The South Fork organization was probably the first church established within the boundaries of what is now Larue County. It is within three miles of the Lincoln South Fork home. We are under obligation to Judge Otis Mather of Hodgenville for the discovery of an old record book of this church. It allows us to speak with some authority on the status of the religious activities in the Lincoln community at the time when Abraham was born. The record book in

question begins in 1804 and concludes in 1825. The Severns Valley and the South Fork books combined give us a continuous church record from 1787, the year following the death of Abraham Lincoln the pioneer, to the departure from Kentucky in 1816 of Abraham Lincoln, the future president.

John Duncan claimed to have talked with two old men who were present when the South Fork Church was constituted. The organization was the result of the efforts of Benjamin Lynn, who had been preaching in the neighborhood for a considerable time. The church was constituted a Separate Baptist church in 1782 by Benjamin Lynn and James Skaggs.[57] The history of this church, with the record book as a source, is easily followed. On April 24, 1804, the "meeting was opened and preceded to business." The business consisted largely in enforcing the discipline, and several "accusations were laid in." Certain brethren were appointed to "cite the accused to attend the next meeting." [58]

At the meeting held on July 24 of the same year the church met in the new meeting-house, and James and John Pierce were sent as delegates to the Green River Association. Nothing of interest occurs during the next year except the general routine of business, which largely consisted of looking after the moral condition of the membership. An entry appearing on April 19, 1806, records that a brother brought an allegation against one of the sisters for telling "folsitys." The record for each monthly meeting usually started off with these words: "The Church of Christ on the Big South Fork met and after worship proceeded to business." [59]

In 1807 matters took a serious turn for the church. On December 19, 1807, "Brother Whitman declared himself 'Emansapater' and requested the church to know whether they would wish him to attend them any longer or not." The records show that there was much discussion, and then the question was postponed. There is no record to show the action of the church, and in fact there is no entry made until July 3, 1808, when fifteen members "Went out from the church on account of slavery." [60]

This group consisted of many of those who later became closely associated with the Lincoln family. One of them, Jesse Friend, had married Mary Hanks, an aunt of Nancy Hanks Lincoln. The church was apparently so divided on the question that no business sessions were held until Saturday, September 10, 1810, when "brethren from Nolin Church being present called in as a help to act as a church." [61] The only entries appearing after this were dates for the different months of 1811, and after each date the single entry, "The Church met in Peace." Apparently the status of the church in relation to slavery had become satisfactory to some of those who had previously withdrawn, for on Saturday, December 4, 1811, three of the members who went out on account of slavery "return and join the church again." [62]

For four years from 1807 to 1811 the church had apparently been without a preacher and probably was closed for a greater part of the time. This is significant when we remember that in the late fall of 1808 Thomas Lincoln and his family moved to the farm near the church.

In the year 1812 several names appear in the church minutes which are of interest to Lincoln students. Jesse

Friend is appointed to go and see Brother Elkin with the purpose of securing him to preach for the congregation. Caleb Hazel "Gave the church satisfaction and restored to fellowship again and gave him a letter of dismission." William Downs is said "to be in disorder," and the members are not to invite him to preach in the church or in their homes.

In February, 1813, it is recorded that "Jesse Friend having left us without a cause and joined Downs and his party, returns by recantation and is restored." In July he is again the subject of discussion, and the church thinks "Jesse Friend has forfeited his seat with us for going off and joining a disorderly set of people who call themselves the Separate Baptists." [63] This was probably the Little Mount Congregation to which the Lincolns belonged.

Both Elkin and Downs, who had influenced the church during the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, were of the Separate order. It is evident that about this time the Separate Baptists in the congregation were gaining strength. On March 4, 1815, "the Church agrees to travel for a deacon (or preacher)." And on June 4 Rev. Jonathan Paddock has already been installed. By September of that year a resolution is offered "to try for a friendly correspondence with the South Kentucky Association of Separate Baptists and try if all bars that are in the way can't be laid down." Evidently this approach was not successful, as three months later some of the members join "a new constitution of the separate order." [64]

In 1817, just after the Lincolns had left the county, the church "agrees to build a meeting house at the ford

of the creek on Conrod Walters' land if it can be had." The dues at this time for the support of the church were twenty-five cents a year. It was "agreed to wash the saints' feet the same day the Lord's Supper was administered." [65]

The Rev. William Downs.—William Downs was born during the year 1782 in a fort located at a point which later became Hartford, Kentucky. William's father's name was Thomas Downs. William also had a brother named Thomas, who became a Baptist preacher. The family moved to a station on Green River called Vienna Fort, and here Thomas Downs the father was killed by a party of Indians about the year 1790. William was taken into the home of Evan Williams in Nelson County, near the Rolling Fork Church and not far from the mouth of Knob Creek. It was in this church that Downs professed religion.[66] Relative to his preaching ability Spencer says:

> He received a fair English education for that time and adopted the profession of school teaching. . . . He commenced exercising soon after he was baptised and gave evidence of such extraordinary gifts that the church too hastily had him ordained to the ministry. . . . He possessed extraordinary natural gifts and was one of the most brilliant and fascinating orators in the Kentucky pulpit in his day. . . . Mr. Downs was fond of controversy and engaged in several debates. His exceeding familiarity with the sacred scriptures, his ready wit, keen sarcasm and brilliant oratory, attracted the attention and won the admiration of the most intelligent and refined people within the limits of his acquaintance. Hon. Benjamin Hardin one of the leading lawyers and statesmen of Kentucky, greatly admired his oratory and embraced every opportunity to hear him preach. . . . He raised up a large church called Little Mount.

It was located about three miles north east of Hodgenville, and contained a number of highly respected citizens.[67]

As a man Downs is not given a very good reputation by Spencer, who says:

> He was indolent, slovenly, and self indulgent. This rendered him almost useless to society and perhaps worse than useless to the cause of Christ. . . . He had preached but a short time before he was summoned before the church to answer the charge of being intoxicated. . . . Rolling Fork Church publicly excluded him and requested Salem Association to advertise him. This was done in the minutes of that body in 1805. . . .[68]
>
> He was clad extremely shabbily. He had on a pair of course, short tow-linen pantaloons, and old wool hat with a piece of of leather sewed in the crown, and a pair of course cow skin shoes, without socks. . . . His moral character was so defective that he exercised little influence for good. He died in poverty and obscurity about the year 1860.[69]

This rather lengthy sketch is given because Downs was probably the first preacher that Abraham Lincoln ever heard. The Little Mount Church was formed shortly after his birth, and Downs was its first preacher. While the books of the church have never been found, all available traditions point to it as the one to which the Lincolns belonged. That Downs was preaching in the community in 1812 we are informed by the action of the South Fork Church. Another entry in the records of the church for February 4, 1813, shows Jesse Friend to have joined Downs and his party. Evidently it was sometime before this date that Downs had gathered Little Mount Church.

A most important document discovered by the writer is

an entry in the Hardin County marriage register, which shows that William Downs was the officiating clergyman at the wedding of Caleb Hazel and Mary Stevens on October 15, 1816.[70] Thomas Lincoln was bondsman for Caleb Hazel on this occasion. One of the last records of Thomas Lincoln in Kentucky is associated with William Downs.

We may conclude that this first preacher whom Abraham Lincoln heard, and the preacher whom he heard most often in his childhood, was an emancipationist, a Separate Baptist, a man of some education, a famous orator, and one whose character did not measure up to his preaching.

The Rev. David Elkin.—No minister is more often associated with the early history of the Lincoln family than David Elkin. He is best known as the pastor who according to tradition preached the funeral sermon of Nancy Hanks. Aside from this, nothing had been learned about his history until the present investigation. While he is mentioned in Spencer's history he is not associated with the Lincolns by the author of that work. Through interviews with his descendants and the searching of public records, we are able to learn his places of residence during the years in which he came in contact with the Lincolns.

One of the most fruitful sources of information has been the commissioners' books of Green County. As early as 1792 the names of Nathaniel and Jesse Elkin are entered. In 1800 David Elkin is entered as a white male above twenty-one years old. From then until 1842 his name appears on the books that are available with very

few exceptions. The years 1801, 1805, 1809, and 1815 are a few of the dates that show him as a resident of Green County. In 1842 he lists one horse, two cattle, and two hundred acres of land on Little Barren River. The total value of his taxable property at this time is placed at $250.[71]

Spencer informs us that David Elkin preached for the Good Hope Church, in what was then Green County, for a number of years, but that in 1811 he was succeeded by John Chandler.[72] The minutes of the South Fork Church show that Elkin was approached in 1812 relative to preaching for that church. On April 4 there appeared an order as follows: "Brother Jesse Friend appointed to go and see Brother Elkin and request him to come and see us." [73] Evidently the visit of Jesse Friend resulted in securing the services of Brother Elkin, for on the following March his name appears in the following church order: "Brother Jerrill Dodge gave the church and Brother Elkin satisfaction for the rumor which is in the world about him." [74] Spencer says that in 1814 David Elkin preached the introductory sermon for the Russell Creek Association. On December 20, 1814 Elkin performed a wedding service in Hardin County.[75] As he appears on the commissioners' book of Green County in 1815, it would appear that he was a resident in the Lincoln neighborhood during the years the Lincolns lived on Knob Creek. On March 7, 1820, he sold sixty acres of land in Green County, but he designated Hardin County as his residence. That portion of Hardin in which this farm was located later became Larue.[76]

Spencer gives a brief sketch of David Elkin which is

perhaps the best picture we have of him: "He was a man of extraordinary natural intellect, but was uncultivated being barely able to read. He was extremely poor as to this worlds goods; and what was worse he was very indolent and slovenly in his dress. Yet it pleased the Lord to use him to good account in the early days of his ministry. . . . His reputation was somewhat sullied in his latter years, perhaps from too free use of strong drink." [77] In one of my interviews with his grandson, Fields Elkin, he told me: "His father had related to him how that when Grandfather Elkin first went to preaching he did not know but one letter in the alphabet, the letter O, and he knew that because it was round. In his old age, however, he could read the Bible through by heart." Just what this last statement meant I was unable to learn. When his name has appeared on court documents he has made his mark rather than written his signature.

The tradition which holds that David Elkin preached the funeral service of Nancy Hanks is probably true, but it is difficult to say which one of the many stories relating to how Elkin was called for this service is to be believed. The writer will present for the first time the story of the visit as it has come down to Fields Elkin through his father. He remembers but few details about the trip his grandfather made to Indiana, but he feels sure of those he does recall. He said: "Grandfather Elkin went to visit his two sons who had moved to Indiana, and while on the way he stopped at Thomas Lincolns, whom he had known when Thomas lived in Kentucky, and while there he preached the funeral service of Nancy Hanks. He then went on and spent some time with his sons before

returning." Fields Elkin did not know when it was his grandfather made the trip, nor did he know just where his uncles were living at the time his grandfather Elkin visited them. He does not remember any of the family ever mentioning the fact that his grandfather received a letter requesting him to preach the funeral.

Biographers have attempted to dramatize every event connected with the boyhood of Lincoln, even making him take the initiative in securing a minister to preach his mother's funeral. One writer says Lincoln wrote a letter to Parson Elkin; another writer says he walked a long way through the snow to ask him to come for a service. The story as told me by Fields Elkin is probably true. The Rev. David Elkin happened to be in the community, and no other preacher who had known Nancy had been in those parts since her death, and so it was natural that he should offer to "preach her funeral." That David Elkin had served the church of which Thomas and Nancy Lincoln were members in Kentucky we are certain. It is more than likely that he had preached the service of their youngest child, Thomas, who died while they were living at Knob Creek and who tradition says was buried at Little Mount Church.

As this paragraph is being written the citizens of Mitchell, Indiana, have a movement to erect a monument to this same David Elkin, who they claim is buried in an abandoned cemetery three miles from there. A marker bearing the inscription, "David Elkins, 2nd. South Carolina Militia, War of 1812," marks the spot where this David Elkin is buried. This cannot be the same David Elkin whom we have discussed in this chapter.

He did not spell his name with the final "s," and he was not in the War of 1812.[78] The grandson of the old preacher told me that his grandfather died in the vicinity of Mount Sherman, Larue County, Kentucky, and was buried there. David Elkin, Jr., son of the pioneer and father of Field Elkin, my informant, died in 1902 at the age of ninety-two years at Mount Sherman and is buried in the old Mount Moriah Cemetery. My opinion is that David Elkin the preacher who is associated with the Lincolns lies buried in the same cemetery.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

The family were originally Quakers though in later times they have fallen away from the peculiar habits of that people.
SKETCH PREPARED BY LINCOLN FOR SCRIPPS, 1860.

IT would be strange if we should find any considerable amount of information in the public archives of the county relative to the social life of the people. Their recreations were largely informal from both choice and necessity. The church with its strict discipline had a tendency to curb any social function that bordered on levity; there was no place in its own program that contributed to the social life of the community, with the exception of offering a meeting-place for the people. The fact that the Lincolns were members in good standing of the Baptist church would preclude them from any participation in the public demonstrations that would attract the unattached citizens.

DANCING

Those who think of the camp-fire and war-dance of the Indians as the only pioneer activity approaching the more genteel accomplishment of the ball-room most certainly have much to learn about the social customs of the early Kentuckians. In the "Kentucky Gazette," pub-

lished at Lexington, one may read in the issue of March 22, 1788, an announcement by John Davenport that he will teach dancing at Captain Young's in Lexington, and the "Gentlemen and ladies who incline to enter, will attend on April the third next and will be advised as to the terms."

This accomplishment was not confined to Lexington, for we find that as early as 1794 Louisville had a dancing class, with Archibald McDonald the dancing teacher. The writer has discovered, in a suit brought against McDonald, the original subscription list for his Louisville dancing class. This class met on the second Friday and Saturday of each month. The introduction to the subscription list suggests that "Those gentlemen and ladies who are wishing to encourage this polite accomplishment are hereby assured that every attention in his power shall be cheerfully paid to such of their children or others as may be entrusted to his care." Five dollars for the quarter was the fee charged. Thirty-one names appear on the subscription list.[1]

In 1796 we find McDonald in Bardstown teaching a dancing class. He became insolvent and later moved to Elizabethtown.[2] There he seems to have been successful not only in instructing the young people in dancing but also as the village tailor. We are under obligation to Mr. Haycraft for a description of McDonald; he says McDonald was a Scotchman who tailored around from house to house and was also a dancing-master. To use Haycraft's unique description: "He was of good physique, wore knee breeches and could outstrut any man in the state. He stood much on his dignity and used

high-swelled words. Once in a debating society he was talking of the conglomerations of the superstructure and anatomy of the physical montrosity called man, and being at loss for a suitable word, uttered profane language. The president called him to order and he made the laconic reply 'Inevitably' and sat down." [3]

That dancing met with the same opposition in the early days as it finds to-day in some Kentucky towns, when an attempt is made to use the country court-houses for such affairs, is suggested by the numerous entries in the Hardin County order books. That there was dancing in the court-house in Elizabethtown while Thomas and Nancy Lincoln lived there in 1807 and 1808 we are certain. On Monday, January 9, 1809, a few weeks after the Lincolns left the town, Benjamin Ogden, jailer and keeper of the court-house, was ordered by the court "Not to let any balls to be held in the Court House hereafter." [4]

The order was the beginning of a series of enactments which the dancers and antidancers were instrumental in having passed. About two years after this first order the dancing element evidently controlled the court, and the dance was merrily resumed in the court-house. The next fiscal court, however, passed an order that no more dances be held in the court-house. That this battle continued for many years is shown by subsequent records.[5]

The church was very active in punishing the young people who were inclined to dance, and even their parents were reprimanded for not exercising proper parental authority. In 1794 a good brother was brought before the church for allowing "frolicking in his home." [6] As

early as 1787 a young woman was excluded as "an utter despiser of Religion and frolicking and dancing." [7]

Patriotic Celebrations

The fact that large companies of soldiers settled in Kentucky in the years shortly after the Revolutionary War should allow us to infer that the spirit of patriotism was kept alive on the frontiers. An item in a Lexington paper dated July 5, 1788, says that "Yesterday being the anniversary of the Declaration of the Independence of America, it was celebrated in this town with great festivity." [8]

While Thomas Lincoln was living in Elizabethtown he witnessed at least one Fourth of July celebration. In 1807 a number of the leading citizens of the town petitioned the court for the use of the court-house for a celebration of the anniversary of American independence. Permission was granted, the petitioners agreeing to be responsible for any damage that might be done to the house while the celebration was in progress.[9] A barbecue dinner was served, and there were many speeches and toasts, and undoubtedly plenty of Kentucky whisky to give the celebration a proper setting.

The early church, ever on the alert to check evil tendencies, sensed in these celebrations a breach of moral etiquette. The Rev. Warren Cash, one of the strict disciplinarians, moved to Hardin County in 1806. He "gathered" and became pastor of Bethel Church in Hardin County, and in the minutes of this church we find the following query: "Is it right for the members of our

church to visit Barbecues on the 4th of July? Answer: It is not right." Another question asked by Brother Cash, relative to the members "perpetuating or assisting in any kind of gambling," was answered as follows: "The church will not justify the practice." [10]

Horse-Racing

The evolution of horse-racing in Kentucky might make an interesting study. No state has attempted to challenge the supremacy of Kentucky on the turf, and few saddle or light harness horses have been able to vanquish the fleet-footed blue-grass steeds. Kentucky has been a long time at work, however, in establishing her supremacy, and she may point to some of the early contests in the State as responsible for her present prestige.

Horse-racing was the chief source of recreation for the pioneer a century and a half ago, and time has not changed the attitude of the Kentuckian toward his primitive diversion. The "Kentucky Gazette" for August 22, 1789, prints an announcement of one of the first fall race meets at Lexington, which have now become so popular: "A purse race at Lexington on the second Thursday in October next, free for any mare or gelding weight for age agreeable to the rules of New Market, three mile heats the best two in three, one quarter of an hour between heats allowed for rubbing. . . ." [11] With all respect for the winner of the annual Kentucky Derby, we would venture that several three-mile heats in one day with fifteen minutes rest between them would stagger even the best.

The citizens of Hardin County did not have to journey

to Lexington to see racing. They had their own annual Derby. There were several "race paths" in the county, where the favorites were trained for the annual meeting. Not more than half a mile from where Abraham Lincoln was born there was a series of these courses where the pioneers of the community trained the animals that were to represent Burlington in the county classic.[12] The best race-course in the county was at Middle Creek, midway between Hodgenville and Elizabethtown, and known as Martin's Turf. This was in use when Abraham Lincoln was growing up and was not more than eight miles from the Lincoln Farm.

The writer has found an old "Corn List Made and Run For on Middle Creek" in 1810, the year after Abe was born. A copy of the original document follows:

> We the undersigners wishing to improve the breed of horses in Hardin County do for that purpose, propose a course, race to be run on Martin's turf on Middle Creek, on the third Thursday, Friday and Saturday in October next, to be free for any horse, mare or gelding owned by any residenter of Hardin County at this time: to run the first day three miles and repeat, the second day two miles and repeat the third day one mile and repeat. To be run under the rules and direction of the Lexington Jocky Club, for which we the undersigned do oblige ourselves to pay the quantity of corn opposite our names, to the winners by their demanding it, between the first day of December next and the twenty-fifth, as witness our hands this 13th. day of August 1810.[13]

The corn list contains the names of thirty prominent citizens of Hardin County, and opposite each name is placed the number of bushels of corn subscribed, amounting to 520 bushels in all.

It is a safe bet that Thomas Lincoln and all his neigh-

bors were on Martin's Turf for the annual Hardin County Derby, provided the members of the church were allowed to attend. As some of the leading church-workers' names are on the corn list it was likely permissible for them to see the race provided they did not take part in it. The minutes of the Severns Valley Baptist Church for October 22, 1802, carry the following entry: "Some of the members informed the church of Brother John Haycraft's misconduct in riding his horse round the race ground." This is in keeping with the strict discipline exercised in the early church, and we doubt if any member in good standing participated in the races.

It is evident from this last citation that there was a race-course in Hardin County as early as 1802, and if such strenuous races were conducted each fall as the one run in October, 1810, it is not surprising that Kentucky thoroughbreds are noted for their endurance. That there was betting on these early races is suggested by a suit in the Hardin Circuit Court, in which Joseph Hanks, a relative of Nancy Hanks, brought suit against one Williamson for the payment of a note. Williamson charged "that note was won on a bet on a horse race which makes it fraudulent." Hanks claimed "it was not bet on a horse race." The note, however, was dated on November 7, 1810, about two weeks after the race mentioned heretofore.[14] In 1808 Joseph Hanks had bought a black colt and a fine saddle at a sale. We can make sure that he rode this colt to the big race in 1810, and possibly he was an actual participant.[15]

Lexington, which has always been the center of the racing interests in Kentucky, had made many changes in

the conduct of its race meets since the contests of 1798. In August, 1810, a race meet was announced to last three days. The first day the heat was to be four miles and the purse $150. The second day the heat was three miles and the purse $200. The third day the heat was two miles, and the purse was the entrance money of the two preceding days. The horses were to start each day at twelve o'clock and carry weight as follows: aged horses, 126 pounds; six years old, 122 pounds; five years old, 114 pounds; four years old, 100 pounds; three years old, 86 pounds. The riders were to be dressed in silk or satin jackets and wear caps.[16]

Public Exhibitions

One of the first theatrical performances in Kentucky of which we have been able to learn was presented at the court-house in Lexington on the evening of November 14, 1789. It consisted of two presentations, a comedy in five acts called "The West Indian," and a farce in two acts called "The Citizen." The doors were open at 5 P. M., and the curtain was raised at 6. The price of admission was seventy-five cents. It was prominently announced that there would be "no admission behind the scenes." [17]

We must not infer that the Lincolns did not have ample opportunity to witness dramatic presentations and other programs at Elizabethtown while they lived there. Theatrical performances, exhibitions by sleight-of-hand performers, rope dancers, and, we suppose, sword-eaters, all appeared in the court-house. It is interesting to note

how the city fathers reacted toward these invasions from outside talent. The following excerpt from the record of the town shortly after the Lincolns left the county will answer as an illustration: "It appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that a certain rope dancer named Welsh is about to exhibit to the inhabitants of this town certain feats of activities and other matters which neither improve the morals or understanding of the citizens and only has a tendency to draw their cash which might be better applied, it is therefore ordered that the said Welsh be taxed three dollars and that Samuel Martin agreed to become responsible for this tax." [18]

Though Sarah Lincoln would be too young to attend the Elizabethtown Academy while the Lincolns lived in the town, her presence in the family would quicken the interest of the parents in the school. One of the customs at the conclusion of the term was the exhibition of the work done by the pupils. On August 14, 1807, an exhibition was announced by the teacher, Samuel Stevenson, and at that time subscribers for another school were to be solicited.[19]

Abraham may have seen an elephant before he was a year old. On Saturday, June 24, 1809, trustees of Elizabethtown entered in the record book that they had "received from the proprietor of the Elephant nine dollars as a contribution for the benefit of the town." [20] We are badly mistaken if Thomas and Nancy Lincoln and their two children, Sarah and Abraham, were not present at this one animal circus.

We should also think of the gatherings arranged where some task was to be accomplished, such as the harvesting

of a crop or the raising of a mill-dam.[21] These occasions where a large number of men were brought together would furnish opportunity for the pioneer wrestling, lifting, and running contests. Playing-cards were also available. We know that Christopher Bush owned a pack of cards as early as 1782.[22] It is very likely that there was more or less gambling among a certain element. According to Samuel Haycraft there was considerable "pokering" going on in Elizabethtown at an early date.

CHAPTER XVI

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Thomas the youngest son the father of the present subject, by the early death of his father and the very narrow circumstance of his mother, even in childhood was a laboring, wandering boy.

SKETCH PREPARED BY LINCOLN FOR SCRIPPS, 1860.

IN writing about the economic conditions of pioneer communities there is a tendency to feature the most primitive aspects that can be found. Characters are often placed in a setting that is out of harmony with the time. There was a marked change in economic conditions between 1780, when the first Lincoln arrived in the Kentucky country, and 1816, the date of the Lincoln migration to Indiana. The Kentucky that the boy Abraham left thirty years after his grandfather was killed by the Indians was not the Kentucky his own father saw when he came from Virginia. Care should be taken to avoid placing Abraham, Jr., in the environment of Abraham, Sr.

There are three periods in the life of Thomas Lincoln at which the economic problems and conditions that he faced were very different. Each of these periods is of approximately ten years' duration. They may be designated as follows: from the death of his father to his maturity; from his maturity to his marriage; from his

marriage to his departure for Indiana. We shall place little emphasis on the first period. We shall touch briefly the conditions under which he labored before he married. Our chief concern will be to reveal the economic conditions existing during the early married life of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln and the childhood of Abraham.

When Daniel Boone and Simon Kenton struck hands over a small plot of corn in the cane-brakes of Kentucky, a new era of agriculture and animal husbandry was introduced. Those who had survived by eating wild berries, nuts, and roots, those who gained their livelihood by hunting and fishing, stepped aside for the great migration of farmers and herdsmen.

Millers

Many of the early settlements grew up around some good mill-site. As early as 1787 Jacob Myers opened a grist-mill on a branch of Dick's River. He advertised in the "Kentucky Gazette" that same year that he was building a paper-mill which he expected to have completed by November 5, 1787. He appealed to the settlers to "save their rags." [1]

On petition of sundry inhabitants living on Nolin, Robert Hodgen was given a permit to build a mill on Nolin Creek. On the same day, November 9, 1788, John Close was given a permit to build a mill on the South Fork of Nolin.[2] These mills formed a nucleus for rival communities, but four miles apart, which years

after were to contend for the economic supremacy of the territory that comprised Larue County.

As early as 1799 there was a water grist-mill on Knob Creek run by James Perciful.[3] At or near Elizabethtown several mills had been erected before the Lincolns arrived in 1806. A few miles south of the town Richard Mumford was operating not only a grist-mill but a cotton-gin before that date.[4] It is doubtful if the parents of Abraham Lincoln, during their Kentucky residence, ever lived more than two miles from a mill. Hodgen's Mill, which was three miles from the South Fork home and eight miles from the Knob Creek home, was never their closest mill, although they may have had their corn ground there at times.

Merchants

One has but to review some of the old account books of the early storekeepers to be convinced that it was not difficult to secure the necessities of life and many of the luxuries in Kentucky as early as 1806. Bleakly & Montgomery and Crutchers were the two leading firms in Elizabethtown at this period. Nancy Lincoln might have purchased the following articles at Crutchers' if she had been so inclined: shoes, nine shillings; lace hose, thirteen shillings sixpence; silk gloves, nine shillings; cambric muslin, three shillings sixpence a yard; dimity, two shillings a yard; flannel, four shillings a yard.[5]

Dishes and crockery of almost any style could be had. Coffee and either white or brown sugar were in stock.

Chickens could be purchased for the table at twelve cents each. Bibles, Latin books, histories, readers, and any text-book needed in the schools were available. Thomas could have bought a razor for three shillings. Glass window-panes for his newly built cabin he probably purchased at Crutchers' for nine shillings a dozen panes. Almost anything that was needed in the way of general merchandise, such as clothing, hardware, groceries, grain, stationery, and medicine, was on sale.[6]

The public sales of the time reveal the conveniences in some of the homes. In 1807 Thomas attended a sale and saw the following items auctioned off: shears, table-cloth, tea-kettle, umbrella, set of curtains, counterpane, churn, sewing-table, rim and castor, pitcher and mug, pepper-mill and canister, etc.[7]

Tavern-Keepers

The early taverns of Kentucky were designated in the order books as "ordinaries." The people pronounced it "ornaries," and one old settler remarked, "It is highly likely that the pronunciation hit the nail on the head more appropriately than the spelling." Several persons directly or indirectly associated with the Lincolns operated taverns. Caleb Hazel, the school-teacher, was a tavern-keeper on the Cumberland Road.[8] Samuel Davis, father of Jefferson Davis, was granted a tavern license for 1803 in Christian County.[9] Thomas Lincoln, great-uncle of Abraham, was a tavern-keeper in Fayette County in 1812.[10]

The rates these taverns were allowed to charge were

fixed each year by law. If Thomas and Nancy were obliged to board in a tavern when they reached Elizabethtown, these are the rates they paid: dinners, suppers, and breakfasts, thirty-six cents for each meal; lodging, twelve cents for each person. The prices on the wine-list were also regulated by court orders. Glasses containing a half-pint cost: whisky, eighteen cents; rum, seventy-two cents; French brandy, seventy-two cents; wine, seventy-two cents; peach brandy, eighteen cents. A horse could be supplied with grain at eighteen cents per gallon; pasture, twelve hours for twelve cents; hay, twelve hours for thirty cents.[11]

Butchers

Solomon Brandenburg and Jacob Enlow were inspectors of pork and beef when Thomas and Nancy Lincoln arrived in Hardin County.[12] The method of butchering and selling beef at this date was rather crude and undoubtedly followed the custom of the hunter who had shot big game in the pioneer days. The butcher would take the animal to a convenient lot, shoot it down, skin it, and then quarter it where it lay. While it was still smoking hot it would be cut up with an ax in sizes to suit the customers. It was not merely a case of getting meat while it was fresh but of buying it while it was hot. The parceling out of the beef was the most interesting feature. First the shanks, shins, and neck were cut into small pieces and designated as "mustard." When a purchase of beef was made a piece of mustard was weighed in so that the butcher had no unsalable pieces left.[13]

Beef was sold at a very low price, sometimes selling as low as one and one half cents a pound for the fore quarter and two cents a pound for the hind quarter. At the time Thomas Lincoln was working for John Berry in Elizabethtown, Berry paid four and one third cents a pound for beef and six cents a pound for pork.[14] Thomas Lincoln attended a sale in 1807 and saw yearling heifers sold as low as $1.25 and the best cows at ten dollars. Sheep and hogs sold for less than a dollar a head on the hoof.[15] One writer says that the butcher did not expect to make any money on the meat he sold but looked for profit to his hides and tallow. Tallow sold for eight cents a pound. Pork salted down and ready to use could be bought by Thomas and Nancy at Elizabethtown for three and one half cents a pound.[16]

Tanners

After a beef had been butchered and the community had bought its meat while it was still hot, the hide was taken to the tanners. About the time the Lincolns arrived in Elizabethtown the tan-yard was changing hands from Bruner to Stone. Stone tanned the hides on halves. When the raw hide was brought in, he cut off the hoofs and horns and removed the hair, and then cut the initials of the customer in the neck of the hide. It was then placed in a preparation of lime, bate, tan-bark, and ooze. After about two years the owner of the hide came to receive his half, and in the division of the hide the tanner usually saw to it that the better piece did not leave the establishment. Leather enough for a horse-collar

would sell for about six shillings, or perhaps more than the creature originally cost.[17]

Bear and deer skins were also tanned by the tanners of the earlier days. One order of Abraham Bruner the tanner calls for "foure Paterns of Deare Skoynes."[18] Samuel Haycraft sold a deerskin while Lincoln was working for him for seven shillings and sixpence.[19] Ben Helm bought four deerskins at a sale in 1807 for less than Haycraft received for the one.[20] As the tanner was often the shoemaker and saddle-maker as well, he was a very necessary adjunct to any growing community. It was not long after the beginning of the century before Elizabethtown had two tanneries, one situated where the Louisville and Nashville station now stands, and the other on the lot occupied by the Presbyterian church.

Blacksmiths

The pioneer could never have cleared the great forests if there had not been a blacksmith near-by. David Vance, who bought from Richard Mather the farm that Thomas Lincoln later purchased from Isaac Bush, was holding forth at Elizabethtown during the early years of the new century. It is said that he was an efficient blacksmith, but he bore a bad reputation morally. He deserted his wife and children, got into several scrapes, and finally was arrested for theft.[21]

If one needed to have his horse shod he paid one shilling and sixpence for each shoe put on. A new plow would cost ten dollars, and the blacksmith charged a quarter for sharpening it.[22] A good wagon cost fifty

dollars. To purchase a log chain would mean a cost of at least six dollars.[23] All iron was comparatively high but very necessary in the development of the new country. Axes, wedges, saws, scythes, and gears for wagons all found their way to the blacksmith to be sharpened or repaired.

Tailors

Two years before the death of the pioneer Abraham Lincoln, John Helm, who had located at the valley, had a tailor by the name of Taylor make a "light color coat" for him. Besides furnishing the goods, linen for sleeve-lining and pockets, thread, twist, and so on, he paid the tailor one pound and one shilling for the work.[24] Mr. Haycraft says that Archibald McDonald was the first tailor in Elizabethtown, but if Taylor was living in the town his residence antedated McDonald by many years.

The deerskin clothes and the coonskin hat and the bearskin moccasins may do very well for the average pioneer of Grandfather Lincoln's day, but even he may have had a light-colored coat like Helm's. Samuel Stephenson at this time purchased material for a coat which cost him $7.50.[25] Thomas Lincoln saw a pair of breeches and a jacket pattern sold for $8.68 cents in 1807.[26] If we can rely on tradition that seems to be fairly well founded, it is apparent that Thomas Lincoln himself had some fairly decent clothes. Mr. James Montgomery recently told me that his uncle a few years ago had some old account books of the firm of Bleakly & Montgomery, and in it were several entries showing

purchases by Thomas Lincoln. One purchase which he remembers was a pair of silk suspenders for which Lincoln paid $1.50.[27] Miss Tarbell mentions this entry, and Mr. Summers, editor of the "Elizabethtown News," remembers the old book very well.[28] The writer has used every effort to find this book but to no avail. The entry would make it appear that Thomas Lincoln hung on these silk suspenders something more than a deerskin apron.

Distillers

The distillery was a very necessary evil in the day of the pioneer. Whisky became one of the mediums of exchange, and it need not be inferred that the distiller himself was necessarily a toper, or that the man that happened to buy or sell whisky by the barrel was in an illicit business. Samuel Haycraft, Sr., in the earlier days, at the time Thomas Lincoln worked for him at the mill-dam, was the town distiller. He continued making choice liquor and as late as Duff Green's administration at the Hardin County School was making beverages. Duff Green, however, was satisfied with milder refreshments, and there are several entries which show that he bought cider from Haycraft at three shillings per gallon. He also bought several barrels of apples at eleven shillings threepence a barrel.[29]

There was erected, however, about the time the Lincolns lived in Elizabethtown a still-house on the lot now occupied by the Jenkins-Essex Company. It was run for some years by Thomas Stout.[30] We have remarked that the Lincolns always lived near a church while in

Kentucky; we might make the same remark about the nearness of their residences to distilleries. When they moved to South Fork there was a still-house on the adjoining farm.[31] When they moved to Knob Creek they were living within two miles of what was at one time the largest distillery in the world.

Lawyers

Lawyers and ministers composed the first professions represented in the pioneer country, but they were soon followed by physicians. The lawyers like the ministers were circuit-riders and went from county to county with each session of the court. We shall be interested only in the professional men who came in contact with the Lincoln family through official service or association.

In November, 1805, William Duvall was appointed the commonwealth's attorney for Hardin County. He was to have seventy dollars per year for his services and was to attend all the call courts. If the court was obliged to send for Duvall at any time the messenger fee was to come out of his salary.[32] This could not be termed a "high-blooded" salary. In April, 1796, one of the justices of the county had been fined five pounds for charging high-blooded fees for official services.[33]

In December, 1802, the old quarter-session courts were abolished and district courts were established. The personnel of the Hardin county court, when Thomas Lincoln arrived in the county, was: Stephen Ormsby, judge; Alexander Pope, county attorney; Felix Grundy, John W. Holt, and Robert Wickliff, attorneys-at-law; Nathaniel Wickliff, deputy clerk.[34]

Doctors

Elizabethtown was without a practising physician until about the year 1800. Ebenezer B. Goodletter was probably the first physician to put up his shingle, and if Nancy Lincoln needed medical assistance at the time of the birth of her child Sarah, Dr. Goodletter was the attending physician. He was followed by Dr. Thomas Essex from England about 1809. It is very doubtful if he was sent for when Abraham Lincoln was born, although he could have rendered service, as the birthplace was only fourteen miles from Elizabethtown. A short time after Dr. Essex arrived, a Dutchman by the name of Dr. William Sulcer began to practise in Elizabethtown. Dr. Essex left, and Sulcer accumulated a big practice.[35]

We have no evidence that the Lincolns came in contact with these physicians, but the next one, Dr. Daniel B. Potter, evidently supplied some medical aid to the family of Thomas Lincoln. Dr. Potter arrived in Elizabethtown, we are told, about the year 1811; he was a college graduate of recognized ability. He soon built up an immense practice, and his only competitor, Dr. Sulcer, soon left town. Dr. Potter married a Miss Hackley, "a lady of surpassing beauty," but he was not to enjoy her company very long. In 1814 an epidemic called the "cold plague" swept over the community and claimed the doctor as one of its victims.[36] The writer finds Dr. Potter's name on the tax list of Hardin County for 1813, and he listed one slave, probably his attendant.[37] It is in the papers of the settlement of Dr. Potter's estate that we find evidence that he had contact with Thomas Lin-

coln. We find the administrator making record, among the bills collected, of a credit to Thomas Lincoln for $1.46. While we know this account was paid before 1817, the time the papers were filed with the settlement of the suit, we do not know what service Dr. Potter had rendered.[38] There is a possibility that there may have been some connection between this account and the death of the third child of Thomas Lincoln, who died during the residence of Dr. Potter at Elizabethtown.

As early as 1794 we find a family near the Lincolns in Washington County quarantined for smallpox. The family was obliged to put up a sign half a mile above the house on the public road and another half a mile below the house on the public road, notifying the traveler of the case. We can be assured that there was a detour of at least a mile when these signs appeared.[39]

Laborers

The fact that much of the manual labor was done by slaves even when the Lincolns were living in Hardin County would have a tendency to keep wages down. There seems to be no distinction between the wages allowed for the master and those allowed for the slave for the same work. Three shillings a day was the minimum wage paid for common labor, and Thomas Lincoln in 1797 worked for many weeks at this rate.[40] Labor pay at harvest-time seemed to be somewhat higher: four shillings a day was paid for mowing, and the same wage for reaping.[41] There was no stone-cutters' union in those days, so that the quarrymen received the minimum wage

of three shillings a day.[42] A man with a team might receive six shillings a day for hauling or plowing.[43]

There was also a scale for piece-work. While Thomas Lincoln was digging on the raceway he received four shillings a rod on some occasions and five shillings at other times, probably according to the stubbornness of the dirt that he had to remove.[44] Breaking flax paid the laborer six shillings a hundred pounds.[45] Three shillings a hundred was the rate for splitting rails.[46] There was one other kind of wage that was paid when several men were needed for raising a structure of any kind. When the mill-dam at Elizabethtown on which Thomas Lincoln worked was raised, this entry appears in the record book: "To raising the 'damm' fifteen hands rations and whisky."[47] Rations and whisky on an occasion like that would be pretty good pay. No wages were probably forthcoming on such occasions.

CHAPTER XVII

POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

I can scarcely believe that Gen. John B. Houston has been arrested, "for no other offense than opposition to my reëlection": for if that had been deemed sufficient cause for arrest, I should have heard of more than one arrest in Kentucky on election day.

LINCOLN'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR BRAMBLETT, 1864.

IT would be absurd to argue that Abraham Lincoln was directly influenced by political activities in Kentucky before the removal of the family to Indiana. The reputation of the State for political enterprise, however, might suggest that every Kentucky-born child possessed an innate political tendency. It is evident that in Lincoln this tendency, if not innate, was acquired very early in life. We shall rely on his own utterances to show an early trend toward a type of thinking that later was responsible for his occupancy of the White House.

While delivering an address at Trenton, New Jersey, on February 23, 1851, he recalled his early reaction to a vital principle of our political science, which he revealed in the following words:

May I be pardoned if on this occasion, I mention that 'way back in my childhood, the earliest days of my being able to read, I got hold of a small book, such a one as few of the younger generation have seen, Weems's "Life of Washington."

I remember all the accounts there given of the battle-field and struggles for the liberties of the country, and none fixed themselves upon my imagination so deeply as the struggle here at Trenton. The crossing of the river, the contest with the Hessians, the great hardships endured at that time, all fixed themselves upon my memory more than any single revolutionary event. I recollect thinking even then, boy even though I was, that there must have been something more than common that these men struggled for, that something more than National Independence, that something, that held out a great promise to all the people of the world for all time to come. I am exceedingly anxious that this Union, the Constitution and the liberties of the people, shall be perpetuated in accordance with the original idea, for which that struggle was made, and I shall be most happy indeed if I shall be an humble instrument in the hands of the Almighty, and of this his most chosen people, for perpetuating the object of that great struggle.[1]

If we were to discuss the influence of Kentucky politics and politicians on Abraham Lincoln in later life we could present some direct influence of importance. Not only was the champion of his political aspirations, Henry Clay, a Kentuckian, but Peter Cartright, Jefferson Davis, and John C. Breckenridge were opponents of Lincoln on whom Kentucky had a claim. As we shall not find room in this book for such a lengthy treatise, we shall be obliged to confine ourselves to the earlier environment of his child life.

Just how much interest the father of President Lincoln took in politics it is difficult to ascertain. Within the chapter discussing the public service of Thomas Lincoln we have mentioned several of his political apointments as a citizen of the county. Where favors were being shown by the holders of minor offices, Thomas Lincoln seems to have been selected on several occasions to perform

tasks that might be considered political compliments. We have no record, however, that would suggest that Thomas ever ran for any political office where the choice rested in the hands of the people.

It has been asserted that Mordecai Lincoln, brother of Thomas, served on the Kentucky legislature, but no evidence has been found that supports the assertion.[2] Probably the first vote ever cast for a Lincoln in the territory which is now Kentucky was cast for Benjamin Lincoln as presidential elector in 1789.[3]

Election Decorum

The ballot and the barrel have gone hand in hand in Kentucky for so long that it is almost as difficult to think in terms of an election without ballots for tabulating votes as it would have been to foresee such a gathering without whisky for clinching the votes.

An interesting record is on file in Hardin County which tells the aftermath of an election held in August, 1816.[4] This was four months before the Lincolns left the State. The purpose of the election was to choose candidates for the Kentucky legislature. Six candidates directed John Churchill to buy a barrel of whisky for the election and promised to pay equal shares. The whisky was bought from Ben Helm, and they all seemed to have paid their share of the cost except Daniel Wade. Helm brought suit against him to recover $3.35. Although we have been unable to find the returns for the election, it is safe to say that Daniel was a loser, or he would have been more prompt in payment. The suit was not brought

until April 23, 1819. The whisky was evidently valued at twenty dollars a barrel. The writer has witnessed and, to an extent, participated in some of the Kentucky elections of later date, and, to say the least, they have been rather boisterous occasions.

The grandfather of Abraham Lincoln may have been introduced to Kentucky politics at the spring election of 1783, and if so he evidently did not receive a very favorable impression of the proceedings, as this memorandum of George Rogers Clark would testify:

> At the Spring election of 1783 for delegates to the Virginia assembly there were a number of fights in Louisville in which some good citizens were seriously injured, one having an eye gouged out, another a nose bitten off etc.[5]

The elections which the senior Abraham Lincoln witnessed when he lived near Louisville were in some respects not unlike the elections that Thomas Lincoln saw in Elizabethtown when he first came to Hardin County. Samuel Haycraft gives us an account of the rivalry that resulted from an attempt to choose a site for the county-seat of Hardin County. The settlement on Nolin, later Hodgenville, and the settlement on Severns Valley, which became Elizabethtown, were the chief contestants for the honor. Haycraft says:

> There was hot blood all the time from about 1794 to about 1803 each settlement believing they ought to have the county seat, and the controversy was bitter, and hostile feelings divided the two sections. But particularly at the annual elections the feelings could not be controlled and during that period there was at least fifty combats of fist and skull, there being pistols, knives, brass knucks, or slungshots used in those days. The only unfair weapon used to my knowledge was by a young man named

Bruce, who had his shoes pointed with iron or steel something like gaffs being himself addicted to chicken fighting.

Hardin County Elections

After a diligent search in the archives of the Hardin County Court-house the writer has been able to find but three old election books that reach back to within a decade of the Lincoln migration from the county. It is to be regretted that none of these books antedate the removal of the Lincoln family from the State, so that it is impossible to learn Thomas Lincoln's political preferences. It must be remembered that there was no secret ballot in this early day, and the records show the votes cast by each voter.

The earliest book is dated the second Monday in November, 1820, and the election continued three days, the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth days of the month respectively. The purpose of the poll was to select four electors from the first electoral district of Kentucky to vote for president and vice-president of the United States. Twenty men received votes; thirteen, however, did not reach an individual total of more than six votes. Three others polled twenty-four, forty-one, and fifty-five respectively, while the four winning candidates were: Adin Coombs, 211 votes; John Churchill, 193 votes; Henry Crutcher, 164 votes; and Charles Morehead, 116 votes. The total number of voters registered was 266, and each citizen voted for four men.

It is one of the also-rans, the runner-up in this case, in whom we are particularly interested. His name is William Downs. He polled fifty-five votes, the largest

number received by any of the defeated candidates, Caleb Hazel, the school-teacher, voted for him, and we feel sure he would have received Thomas Lincoln's vote had Lincoln been there.[6]

The Election of 1860

Much has been written about the lack of support Lincoln received in his native State in the election of 1860. We are fortunate in finding the files of the "Louisville Daily Journal" fairly complete for the period in which we are interested. An excerpt from an editorial of this paper of Thursday, November 8, 1860, is sufficient to show the attitude of the paper toward the candidacy of Lincoln: "Mr. Lincoln's election is a fact accomplished. We have prayed fervently against this event, and have worked against it with every energy of our natures."

It was some time after the election that the official vote of Kentucky could be tabulated, and it is not until the edition of Tuesday, November 27, that an official vote of Kentucky is printed in the "Journal." The returns show that Bell received 65,740 votes, Breckenridge polled 53,146 votes, Douglas gathered in 25,314 votes, and Lincoln could claim but 1346 votes. Twenty-nine counties in the State failed to give Lincoln a single vote; thirty more counties gave him less than five votes each.

A compilation of these votes shows some interesting features. Larue County, where he was born, gave him three out of 886 votes. Hardin County, where his father lived for five years and where many of his relatives then resided, gave him six out of 2191 votes. Washington

County, where his father lived for sixteen years and his uncles for a still longer period, gave him one out of 1566 votes. Jefferson County, where his grandfather was killed and where his father lived as a small boy, gave him 106 out of 7555; outside the city of Louisville, however, he polled but fifteen votes in the county. The Louisville vote was as follows: Bell, 3823; Douglass, 2633; Breckenridge, 854; Lincoln, 91. Fayette County, the home of his wife, gave him but five out of 2566 votes. The only part of the State where he showed any strength at all was in the mountains of eastern Kentucky, Jackson County, a typical mountain county, giving him 101 votes, the largest vote per capita that he received in the State.

From the "Observer and Reporter" of Lexington for November 7, 1860, we gain this information about the city vote: "The vote in this city is the largest by several hundred ever polled. The following is the vote for the city: Bell 648, Breckenridge 635, Douglass 75, Lincoln 1."

The Haycraft Correspondence

Samuel Haycraft, historian of Elizabethtown, Kentucky, wrote to Abraham Lincoln in May, 1860, relative to some of Lincoln's family connections. Lincoln replied on May 28, 1860, answering his questions.[7] Three days later Haycraft wrote Lincoln another letter inviting him, as Republican nominee for president, to visit the place of his birth. It was Lincoln's reply to this letter that has been used to convey the idea that there was a

plan to inveigle Lincoln into Kentucky to assassinate him.

Mr. Lincoln replied in these words: "You suggest that a visit to Kentucky might be pleasant to me. Indeed it would. But would it be safe? Would the people lynch me?" [8] These two questions are followed by mentioning of the place of his birth and of the Knob Creek home, without further comment on the proposed visit. This seems to imply that the two questions were asked in a jocular vein rather than with any thought that an assassin was at work. The letter was dated June 4, 1860.

Sometime within the following two months a correspondent of the "New York Herald" spent a week in Springfield. In conversing with Mr. Lincoln, the letters from the county of his birth were probably mentioned. The reporter made a feature-article out of the interview. Lincoln found it necessary to write Mr. Haycraft, and to correct the interpretation which the reporter had placed on the pleasantry that had passed between them with reference to his visit to Kentucky, suggesting that the reporter had misused what he had said. The correspondent had made Lincoln say, "I have been invited to visit Kentucky, but I suspected it was a trap to inveigle me into Kentucky to do violence to me." Lincoln assured Haycraft: "This is wholly a mistake, I said no such thing. I do not remember but I possibly did mention my correspondence with you, but very certainly I was not guilty of stating or intimating a suspicion of any intended violence, deception or any other wrong by you or any other Kentuckian." [9] Mr. Haycraft replied to this letter of August 19, which a week

later was answered by Mr. Lincoln in the following words: "I now fear that I have given you some uneasiness by my last letter. I did not mean to intimate that I had to any extent been involved or embarrassed by you, nor yet to draw from you anything to relieve myself from difficulty. My only object was to assure you that I had not as represented by the Herald Correspondent charged you with an attempt to inveigle me into Kentucky to do me violence. I believe no such thing of you or of Kentuckians generally, and I dislike to be represented to them as slandering them in any way." [10] We are unable to say how widely the publication of this correspondence influenced the Kentucky vote, but we are sure that it worked very much against him in the immediate community of his birth.

The Election of 1864

With but two candidates in the field in 1864, and with internal conditions in the State such that an abnormal poll resulted, it is difficult to draw comparisons with the 1860 results. McClellan carried the State with a total of 64,301, while the best that Lincoln could do was 27,786. This, however, was a substantial increase over the 1364 votes of 1860. Perhaps the worst showing of all was made by Lincoln in the county of his birth with three votes in 1860; Larue gave him but seventeen of the 717 votes cast. Hardin County increased her vote for Lincoln from six in 1860 to eighty-three out of a total of 1093. Jefferson County, with but 106 in 1860, increased her patronage to 2066 out of 8470. It was in

Fayette County, the home of Mrs. Lincoln, that the president received the largest increase of votes, but this was probably due to the soldier vote cast there. Fayette actually went for Lincoln with 1882 votes, McClellan polling but 1496.

The vote of two towns is rather interesting. Elizabethtown, the first home of Lincoln's father and mother and the home of Sally Johnston Lincoln, second wife of Thomas Lincoln, gave Lincoln thirty votes, while McClellan received 239. New Haven, but three miles from the Knob Creek home of the Lincolns, and not far from where Abraham Lincoln attended his first school, failed to give the president a vote but gave McClellan 148. Lincoln's poor showing in some of the counties is difficult to understand, especially where relatives and friends of his parents would naturally have some local influence.[11]

CHAPTER XVIII

SLAVERY

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I cannot remember when I did not so think and feel.
LINCOLN'S LETTER TO A. G. HODGES, 1864.

IF Abraham Lincoln could not remember a time when he did not think and feel that slavery was wrong, his parents must have been responsible for some of his earliest impressions of the system. We have abundant evidence to show that during their married life in Kentucky Thomas and Nancy Lincoln lived in the very center of the slavery controversy. We have further evidence that the three churches serving the communities where they lived were antislavery organizations. We are also convinced that the preachers with whom they came in direct contact were ardent emancipationists. It is not strange that innate tendencies made Abraham Lincoln opposed to slavery.

THE LINCOLNS AND SLAVERY

In tracing the lineal descent of the Lincoln family from Samuel Lincoln of Hingham, Massachusetts, we find no evidence of slave-owners in the direct ancestral line of Abraham Lincoln the president. We have positive proof that neither the father nor the grandfather of Abraham was the proprietor of blacks.

When the three sons of John Lincoln left their Virginia home in the Shenandoah Valley, Abraham and Thomas migrated to Kentucky, and Isaac located in Tennesee. While Abraham owned no slaves, both of his brothers were owners of black men. Thomas, who lived in the blue-grass region near Lexington, Kentucky, was in the very center of the industry; he owned as many as six slaves at one time.[1] Isaac Lincoln was also living in a slave State. When the president's father visited him in Tennessee, he came in direct contact with slavery. When Isaac died in 1816 he left his property to his wife Mary. In 1834 Mary died, and forty-three slaves were listed in her estate.[2]

Mordecai Lincoln was the only one of the three sons of Abraham the pioneer who was ever in possession of a slave. He listed one in 1803.[3] This slave may have been a gift to his wife from her father.

In 1797 Thomas Lincoln went to visit his grandfather's cousin, Hananiah Lincoln, who lived in Hardin County, Kentucky, near Elizabethtown. While there he secured a job working on a mill-dam. He worked side by side with slaves whose masters collected their earnings on pay-day.[4] This close contact with the negro may have made lasting impressions on him with regard to slavery.

The Hankses and Slavery

We must admit that few of the Hanks families were in a position to own slaves if they had so desired. Joseph Hanks, who lived in Nelson County, evidently was not a slaveholder, as no slaves are mentioned in his

will. A Hanks family that settled in Woodford County was opposed to slavery, as we learn from a deed by which a tract of its land was conveyed to an Emancipation church. A portion of this deed follows: "Whereas certain persons whose names are known to the said Elijah Hanks and Winifred his wife did in the year 1806 on the thirtieth day of July institute and declare themselves a society under the title of the Baptist Church of Christ holding that perpetual slavery is contrary to the gospel of Jesus Christ . . ." [5]

In the same county, however, George Hanks was a possessor of slaves. At a sale held in December, 1802, George purchased a negro boy named Sam and paid thirty-five dollars for him.[6] The same year he listed three slaves for taxation.[7] In 1792 Absalom Hanks of Clark County listed one slave, but by 1820 the number of his slaves had increased to thirteen.[8]

If Nancy Hanks was brought up by the Berrys we are sure that there was at least one slave about the house. The year she was married, 1806, Edward Berry, the youngest son of the senior Richard, listed six slaves.[9]

Personal Influences

Professor C. G. Graham, who prepared the biographical sketch of Thomas Lincoln placed on the interior walls of the Lincoln Memorial Building at Hodgenville, has this to say about the antislavery influence of Jesse Head: "Reverend Jesse Head, the minister who married Tom Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, talked boldly against slavery and Tom and Nancy Lincoln and Sarah

Bush were just steeped full of Jesse Head's notions."

The Rev. Jesse was a slaveholder. In 1803 in Washington County he listed three slaves, and so far as we have been able to follow him through the commissioners' books of Washington and Mercer counties, from this date until 1822 he was never without at least one slave. If Thomas Lincoln heard Jesse Head preach against slavery before 1803 when he left Washington County for Hardin, he probably thought that Jesse was not practising what he preached. We can come to the conclusion that Jesse Head did not exert any influence over Thomas Lincoln, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, or Sarah Bush Lincoln with respect to slavery.

If we were to select one preacher in Kentucky whose slavery agitation influenced possibly three generations of Lincolns we would name Joshua Carmen. Colonel R. T. Durrett in the sketch of "Ancient Louisville" is the first to record the presence of the Rev. Joshua Carmen in Kentucky. He locates Carmen in Louisville as early as 1783 and refers to him as one of the early preachers at the Falls of the Ohio. On June 23, 1787, "Brother Carmen was called as a supply" by the Severns Valley Church.[10]

He was the earliest and most ardent exponent of anti-slavery sentiment in Kentucky. In 1796 he withdrew from the churches he was serving, and about six miles northwest of Bardstown he organized an Emancipation church. This was undoubtedly the first church in Kentucky that took a definite stand on the slavery question.[11] Up to a year before this he had probably been in good standing with the Severns Valley Church, as an entry

of January 25, 1795 reads as follows: "Brother Carmen is about to remove his residence from the bounds of this church and requests a letter of dismission." [12] Because of his intense feeling on the slavery question he removed to Ohio. There he could preach in a State where no issue was raised on the question of slavery.[13]

This old pioneer undoubtedly exerted a great influence over the communities where he labored, and in each of his churches men were raised up to carry on the slavery agitation. Abraham Lincoln, Sr., had probably heard him preach near the Long Run home as early as 1783. Thomas Lincoln had undoubtedly heard him at Lick Creek and other Baptist churches near the Washington County home. When he and Nancy moved to Elizabethtown in 1806 the influence of Joshua Carmen was still felt, and especially among the group that worshiped on Nolin near the home where Abraham Lincoln was born.

Two preachers that directly influenced the Lincolns more than any others were William Downs and David Elkin. They were strong emancipators, and the boy Abraham heard both of them preach. Outside of the Lincoln family, those that had a direct antislavery influence on the child Abraham Lincoln in Kentucky were these preachers and the school-teacher, Caleb Hazel.

Church Activities

Not only did the church start the discussion on the slavery question but it continued to follow up the agitation with a consistent effort toward abolition.

The Rolling Fork Baptist Church was the organization that took the initiative in the slavery controversy. In 1789 it sent this query to the Salem Association: "Is it lawful for a member of Christ's Church to keep his fellow creatures in perpetual slavery?" [14] Because the association refused to consider the question, the church withdrew.[15] The Rolling Fork Church was not more than five miles from the Knob Creek home of the Lincolns.

The Severns Valley Church had been the seat of slavery controversy for nearly twenty years before the arrival of the Lincolns in Elizabethtown in 1806.

As early as January 23, 1796, this question was up for discussion in the church: "Quare, is slavery oppression or not?" The result of the debate is stated in these words: "The quare being taken up was answered in the affirmative, it was oppression." The following month another entry on the minute-book suggests further agitation of the same question: "Quare, can we as a Church have a fellowship with those that hold the righteousness of perpetual slavery, it was answered in the affirmative, they could not." Two months later the church tried to make such rules as would allow those already having slaves to retain them under certain conditions and also spoke with decision as to the attitude to be taken toward an unruly slave. On July 23, 1796, "Secer, a black man belonging to Bro. James Minihan is received by relation (to all the privileges of this church)." A line is drawn through that part of the sentence inclosed in parentheses. Several other slaves were received after this, and they were held to strict discipline.[16]

The South Fork Baptist Church, which served the next community into which the Lincolns moved, had been split wide open by the slavery controversy. Another church had been formed known as Little Mount, which was an Emancipation church of the Separate Baptist order.

Two actions taken by the church in 1806 evidently stirred up agitation about the status of the negro. In June we find "Brother David excluded from running away from his master." In August two members of the church acknowledged "tying up a man and whipping him." In November, 1807, Brother Sam was excluded. In December of the same year the preacher declared he was for emancipation and offered his resignation. We are not informed as to the course which the church took, but on July 3, 1808, fifteen members "went off from the church on account of slavery." From this date until the first Saturday in July, 1810, the church failed to transact any business. It was during this period that Abraham Lincoln was born. It appears from the records that the antislavery group were finally victorious, because on Saturday, December 4, 1812, some of those who had withdrawn on account of slavery returned and were received back into the church.[17]

We are sure that the Lincolns had not affiliated with the South Fork Church during the two years they lived at the birthplace farm, as the church was in no condition to receive members. When they moved to Knob Creek they found themselves in another community in which the majority of the citizens belonged to the Little Mount organization. This was the church which the emancipation group from South Fork had formed, and

this is the Kentucky church, we feel quite sure, of which Thomas and Nancy Lincoln were members.

After reviewing the attitude of these churches toward emancipation one is convinced that Thomas Lincoln had heard discussed, pro and con, the question of slavery. From every indication it was the one big problem with which the church was wrestling at this period of Thomas Lincoln's residence in Hardin County, Kentucky. As to whether or not he enjoyed this continual wrangling we may draw our own conclusion.

It may be said that Abraham Lincoln was born in an atmosphere charged with the slavery controversy. It is impossible to conceive of a more tense community situation than that existing in the South Fork neighborhood relative to slavery during the period when the Lincolns lived there. Many biographers, however, have dismissed the early environment of Abraham and the Kentucky experiences of his parents as having no bearing on the attitude of the president toward slavery. They treat the statement of Abraham Lincoln himself, in which he affirms that his father moved from Kentucky "partly on account of slavery," as a bit of political propaganda; Lamon actually accuses Lincoln of lying, holding that "nothing could be further from the truth than this." He offers as evidence of this alleged prevarication of Lincoln's that "There were not at that time more than fifty slaves in the county." [18]

When Thomas and Nancy Lincoln moved to Indiana in 1816, the date to which Lamon refers, the commissioners books' of Hardin County reveal that taxes were being paid on 1238 slaves within the county limits.[19]

There were more than a thousand slaves listed in 1811, and one slaveholder alone in the county listed fifty-three slaves this same year.[20]

Removal to a Free State

The time of the Lincoln migration from a slave to a free State is suggested by the testimony of Abraham Lincoln himself and verified by the public documents. The earliest date suggested for the removal is sponsored by J. Edward Murr, who asserts that Abraham Lincoln was a child seven years and four months old when Indiana received him. This would place the arrival in June, 1816.[21] This date is at least five months too early. Thomas Lincoln was still in Kentucky on November 11, 1816, when he appeared before a justice of the peace in Nelson County and made oath to a bill in a suit. This record we believe to be the last evidence of the Lincoln family in Kentucky.[22]

The latest date suggested for the exodus of the family is November, 1817. J. Rogers Gore is the authority here, and he is a whole year too late.[23] We are positive that the Lincolns left Kentucky at some time previous to December 20, 1816, as a suit against Thomas was then brought on the strength of his removal.[24] An indorsement on one of the papers filed in the Lincoln ejectment suit also affirms that "the Lincolns moved off the place in the fall of 1816."[25] We are now able to conclude that the departure from Kentucky took place between November 11, 1816, and December 20, 1816. If Thomas

remained for the sale of the South Fork farm, which was sold by a commissioner on December 16, we may place the date of his departure during one of the three succeeding days.

The story of the migration is sometimes told in three parts: the prospecting trip, the river trip, and the overland trip. The first has a strong exponent in J. Edward Murr, who asserts that Thomas Lincoln was on a visit to his brother Josiah in Harrison County, Indiana, when he decided to locate in the free State.[26]

The river trip was evidently first put forward by William M. Thayer in "The Pioneer Boy," published in 1863.[27] We have yet to find an author who has questioned its authenticity, and even the latest works on Lincoln treat it as an established fact. We can find nothing to support it and much that contradicts it. It seems to have been written as a sequel to the sale of the Knob Creek farm, which made it necessary to move ten barrels of whisky to Indiana. The sale of the farm for whisky has been shown to be pure fiction.[28] With no barrels of whisky to transport, we have no need of a raft, and no call for a river trip. Thus the removal becomes a story of one part. The tradition that the Hankses were responsible for the Indiana migration of the family is held by some of the descendants of William and Joseph Hanks. It is my own conviction that the widow and orphan children of Hananiah Lincoln, who were then living in the community which became Spencer County, were more directly responsible for the location of Thomas Lincoln's Indiana home than either the family of Josiah Lincoln or the Hankses.

The Overland Trip

The trip by land from Kentucky to Indiana cannot be described in detail, with reference either to the route taken or to the type of conveyance used. Again the imagination of the biographer has been given full play. Thayer asserts that the Lincolns packed their belongings on Thomas's three horses.[29] Another biographer says that the backs of two borrowed horses carried their household effects.[30] Still another version pictures the conveyance as "a spring wagon to which the two horses were hitched," remarking that "Mrs. Lincoln and Sarah were seated on a bed of straw in the front of the wagon." [31]

Before the migration Thomas Lincoln had listed for taxation that year four head of horses, and it is not likely he would dispose of them when he was going still farther west where there would be greater demand for live stock.[32] Two or three head of cattle would also be driven along.

The Lincolns lived but a short distance from the junction of the Nolin-Bardstown road with the Elizabethtown-Springfield road. It was this latter road that they probably took en route to Elizabethtown, which would be their first stopping place. One tradition, however, has it that they went through Hodgenville, passing Little Mount Cemetery, and then on to Elizabethtown. From there they would start out the road for which Thomas Lincoln himself had been a petitioner in 1803.[33] This road would take them near the Old Mill Creek home, and

Thomas undoubtedly took occasion to bid farewell to his sister Nancy and his mother, who were living near the old place.

Their next stop would be Hardinsburg, an old town, which was in a direct line to their destination. Through the courtesy of Mr. R. C. Ballard Thurston of Louisville, we are able to present a tradition which came to his hands on August 3, 1921. His informant was Mr. Logan C. Murray of New York, and a copy of Mr. Murray's letter follows:

August 3, 1921.

My dear R. Ballard Thurston:—

Your letter reminding me of my engagement to give you an account of the passing of the little seven year old Abraham Lincoln through Breckenridge County on the Family's way to Indiana . . .

At the family supper table one evening in June, 1860, my father, Col. David R. Murray, sent Stanley, the colored waiter, to go to the dairy and ask Minerva, the colored woman, who was about the age of my father, to come to the dining room. She was a woman of remarkable mentality and brightness. My father said to her on her appearing in the dining room—"Minerva, do you remember more than forty years ago that I was entering my house in the town of Hardinsburg, I talked to a poor family in the road and you were giving milk to a little boy on the door step. I enquired their name and where going—they were going to Indiana—" Minerva, after thinking it out; said, "Yes, sir, I do. Their name was Linkhorn." "Yes," he said, "that is right as I remember it." . . .

I remember perfectly that when my father told Minerva that that little boy she fed was Abraham Lincoln who was nominated that day for President on the Republican ticket, she shouted "Good Lawd." In 1863 she sent her sons into the Union Army to help the boy she fed on his upward journey to be the great Emancipator.

Yours very truly,
LOGAN C. MURRAY.

From Hardinsburg the family would move on to Cloverport, an old river town, and then to Hawesville. This would bring them to a point opposite Cannelton near Tell City. There is a possibility that they may have crossed the Ohio River here. Likely, they did not leave the Kentucky side until they reached the bank of the river opposite Troy at the mouth of Anderson Creek, where there was a ferry in operation. Here they would be at the point nearest their Indian destination.

The entire distance traveled to the Indiana shore probably did not exceed seventy-five miles, and sixteen miles more would place them on the site of their new home. As late as this the trails were fairly well established, and there would have been no difficulty in their getting lodging along the way if the weather made it necessary for them to seek shelter. They should have been able to make the entire distance in five days at the most. A map published as early as 1797 shows a trail already broken from the mouth of Anderson Creek through the Pigeon Creek neighborhood, which was to be the Indiana home of the Lincolns.

The year of this migration, 1816, marked three anniversaries in the life of Thomas Lincoln. Forty years before, he was born in Rockingham County, Virginia. Thirty years before, his father had been shot down by Indians in Jefferson County, Kentucky. Ten years before, he married Nancy Hanks, who bore him a daughter and two sons. The second child, but the first son, of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, who had now reached the age of seven years and nine months, had been named for his massacred grandfather, ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. Lincoln *vs.* Reed.

Mordecai Lincoln, heir at law to Abraham Lincoln
vs.
John Reed's heirs and executors
} Bill

To the honorable the judges of the district court of Bardstown. your orator Mordecai Lincoln respectfully sheweth that sometime in the year 1783 Abraham Lincoln now deceased and a certain John Reed now deceased entered into the following agreement to wit: Said Lincoln furnished said Reed with a land warrant No. 14487 by which warrant said Lincoln was entitled to 2268 acres of land and said Reed agreed to take said land warrant to locate the same according to law for one half of the land which should be procured by said warrant and your orator further states that said Reed received into his possession the said warrant from the contract aforesaid, and your orator further states that he has no reason to believe that Abraham Lincoln ever assigned said warrant to said Reed but in all probability said Reed assigned the said warrant to himself. Your orator further states that said Reed by virtue of said warrant made the following entry with the surveyor to wit; John Reed assignee of Abraham Lincoln enters 1000 acres part of the same warrant No. 14487. Begun at the lower end of the first Narrows below the first Buffalo crossing above the mouth of Bear Creek to run down Green River to the upper end of the next Narrows, then off westwardly for quantity. . . .

Your orator further states that said Abraham Lincoln departed this life in May 1786 without will and your orator his oldest son became entitled to the land aforesaid as heir at law to the said Abraham Lincoln. . . .

F. GRUNDY for Complainant

This first day of September 1797 came Mordecai Lincoln before me a justice of the peace for Washington County and made oath that what he knows of the above bill of his own knowledge is true and what he has from information he believes to be true.

Given under my hand and seal the day and year aforesaid.

TRAMWELL HICKMAN.

CHANCERY BUNDLE, JUNE, 1816, NELSON CIRCUIT COURT.

2. Durrett, box marked "Forts."

3. Barton, "The Lincolns in Their Old Kentucky Home," II.

4. Subscription List:

We the undersigned subscribers being duly sworn to appraise the following articles for the use of an expedition against the Wabash Indians commanded by General Clark for Capt. George Pomeroy's Company September the 8th. 1786

A cow the Property of Richard Chenowitz to Six Pounds ..	6. 0.0
A Steer the Property of John McManes to Four Pounds ..	4. 0.0
A Steer the Property of Thomas Curry to Six Pounds	6. 0.0
A Cow the Property of James Denny to Seven Pounds	7. 0 0
A Steer the Property of Robert Eakens to Six Pounds	6. 0.0
A Stray Steer at William Murrys at Linns Station to Three Pounds	3. 0.0
A Bull supposed to be the property of Capt. Breckenridge or William Robinson	6. 0.0
A Steer the Property of John Humes to Six Pounds	6. 0.0
A Cow the Property of Christian Shake to Six Pounds	6. 0.0
A Blanket the Property of Arthur Chenowitz to one pound fourteen shillings	1.14.0
A Steer the Property of John Reed to Five Pounds	5. 0.0
A Blanket the Property of Robert McCune to Twelve Shillings	0.12.0
A Bag the Property of Sam Shannon of Brashears Creek	0. 9.0
A Bag the Property of Moses Kirkpatrick to nine shillings ..	0. 9.0
A Bag the Property of George Pomeroy to twelve shillings .	0. 9.0
A Bag the Property of William Rice to fifteen shillings	0.15.0
Four Lash Ropes four Halters belonging to James A. Sturges Senr.	0. 6.0
A Packsaddle belonging to John Holt	0.10.0
A Gun the Property of Moses Tyler	7. 0.0
A Gun Shotbag and Powderhorn the property of Robert Tyler	7. 0.0
A Shotbag Powderhorn Blanket and Packsaddle the property of Henner Seaton	2. 0.0
A Gun the Property of Widow Lincoln	8. 0.0
A Mare the Property of George Pomeroy	18. 0.0
A Mare the Property of James Patterson	20. 0.0
A Packsaddle the property of Blan Ballard	0. 9.0
A Blanket the Property of Benj. Huse	1. 0.0
A Packsaddle the Property of Robt. McCune	0. 6.0

A Horse the Property of William Murry 25. 0.0
A Gun the Property of Abner Hughes with Shotbag and Horn 9. 0.0
A Bag the Property of John Reed to twelve shillings 0.12.0
A Bag the Property of John Sharp to twelve shillings 0.12.0
A Mare the Property of John Reed to sixteen Pounds 16. 0.0
A Bell the Property of John Reed to ten shillings 0.10.0
A Bell and Bellstrap the Property of Nicholas Russel 0.12.0
A Horse the Property of Eden Horton to twelve pounds ... 12. 0.0
A Bag the Property of Daniel Curry to six shillings 0. 6.0

JAMES A. STURGES
HENNER SEATON

DURRETT, CHRONOLOGICAL FILES, 1786.

5. Abraham Lincoln Estate.

March 10, 1789

Pursuant to an order of the court appointing the subscribers appraisers of the estate of Abraham Lincoln deceased, being first sworn proceeded as follows:

	£	s	d
1 Sorrel horse	8		
1 Black horse	9	10	
1 Red calf and cow	4	10	
1 Brindle calf and cow	4	10	
1 Red calf and cow	5		
1 Brindle bull yearling	1		
1 Brindle heifer yearling	1		
Bar spear plow and tackling	2	5	
3 Weeding hoes	7	6	
Flax Wheel		6	
Pair smoothing irons		15	
1 dozen pewter plates	1	10	
2 Pewter dishes		17	6
Dutch oven and cule weighing 15 lbs		15	
Small iron kettle & cule 12 lbs		12	
Tool adds	10	10	
Hand saw	5	5	
One-inch auger	6	6	
Three-quarter auger	4	4	6
Half inch auger	3	3	
Drawing knife	3	3	
Currying knife	10	10	
Currier's knife and barking iron	6	6	
Old smooth-bar gun		10	

	£	s	d
Rifle gun		55	
Rifle gun	3	10	
2 Pott trammels		14	
1 Feather bed and furniture	5	10	
Ditto	8	5	
1 Bed and turkey feathers & furniture	1	10	
Steeking-iron		1	6
Candle-stick		1	6
1 Axe		9	
	£68	16s	6d

Signed
Peter Sibert
Christopher Barlow
John Alvey

WILL BOOK A, 48, NELSON COUNTY COURT.

6. Lincoln, 193.
7. Notes, I, 1.
8. Notes, I, 5.
9. Tax Book, 1796, Washington County Court.
10. Deed Book U, 251, Jefferson County Court.
11. Deed Book E, 230, Lincoln County Court.
12. Draper, Boone MS., 25, 36, 37.
13. Stephenson, 4.
14. Deposition of Thomas Lincoln:

The deposition of Thomas Lincoln of full age taken at the state house in Frankfort between the hours of eight o'clock in the forenoon and six o'clock in the afternoon, to be read in answer in a suit in chancery in the Nelson Circuit Court, where Mordecai Lincoln is Complainant and Benjamin Grayson guardian for the heirs of John Reed is defendent.

This deponent being duly sworn deposeth and saith that;

Question by complainant—

Do you know how my father Abraham Lincoln spelt his name?

Answer—

He spelt his name *Abraham Lincoln.*

Q.—Do you know who is the said Abraham Lincoln's heir at law?

A.—Mordecai Lincoln the complainant in the above suit is his oldest son and heir at law.

Q.—Are you acquainted with Abraham Lincoln's handwriting?

A.—I am having lived near him and seen his writing often.

Q.—Do you believe the signature to assignation on a Treasurer Warrant of 2268 acres No. 14487 to John Reed Nov. 24, 1783 where it is spelt Abraham Linkorn, is the signature of the said Abraham Lincoln?

A.—I have examined this signature this day in the Registrar's Office and do not believe it to be the said Abraham Lincoln's [the father of the complainant] handwriting. And further the deponent saith not.

The above deposition was subscribed and sworn to before me a justice of the peace of the county aforesaid at the place mentioned within this 19th. day of May 1812.

CHRISTI GREENUP.

CHANCERY BUNDLE, JUNE, 1816, NELSON CIRCUIT COURT.

15. Order Book, 1788, 60, Nelson County Court.

16. Scripps, Lincoln Autobiography.

17. Lea & Hutchinson, 124.

18. Marriage Register, 1792, Nelson County Court.

19. Marriage Certificates for 1801, Washington County Court.

20. Deed Book B, 253.

21. Marriage Bonds and Permits for 1801, Washington County Court.

22. Durrett, Nall to Sweney Letter, Durrett Scrap-book.

23. Inscription on stone, Mill Creek Cemetery, Hardin County:

Mary Crume departed this life June 15, 1851. Aged 48 years 5 months 11 days

CHAPTER II

1. Hitchcock.

2. Notes, III, 42, 43.

3. Deed Book E, 193, Hardin County Court.

4. Joseph Hanks' Will.

In the name of God Amen. I Joseph Hanks of Nelson County,

State of Kentucky, being of sound mind and memory, but weak in body and calling to mind the frailty of all human nature do make and devise this my last will and testament in the manner and form following, to wit;

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Thomas one sorrel horse called "Major."

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Joshua one gray mare called "Bonny."

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son William one gray horse called "Gilbert."

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Charles one roan horse called "Dove."

Item. I give and bequeath unto my son Joseph one sorrel horse called "Bald."

Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth one heifer yearling called "Gentle."

Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Polly one heifer yearling called "Lady."

Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Nancy one heifer yearling called "Piedy."

Item. I give and bequeath unto my wife Nancy all and singular my whole estate during her life. Afterwards to be equally divided between all my children.

It is also my will and desire that the whole of property above bequeathed should be the property of my wife during her life.

And lastly I constitute ordain and appoint my wife Nancy as Executrix of and Executrix to this my last will and testament.

Signed sealed and delivered in the presence of us this eighth day of January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety three.

his
JOSEPH X HANKS [SEAL]
mark

ISAAC LANSDALE
JOHN DAVIS
PETER ATHERTON

At court begun and held for Nelson County on Tuesday the fourteenth day of May, 1793. This last will and testament of Joseph Hanks deceased was produced in court and sworn to by William Hanks one of the executors therein named and was proved by oaths of Isaac Lansdale and John Davis subscribing witnesses thereto, and ordered to be recorded.

Attest. BEN GRAYSON, CLERK.

WILL BOOK A, 107, NELSON COUNTY COURT.

5. Hitchcock, 75.
6. Herndon's "Lincoln," published 1889.
7. Herndon, 3.
8. Weik, 42–45.
9. Herndon, 13. Weik, 43.
10. Durrett, Dennis Hanks Letter. Weik, 42.
11. Lamon, 47.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Tax Books, 1803, 1804, 1805, Mercer County Court.
14. Barton, (a), 404.
15. Herndon, 3.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Letter to Solomon Lincoln.
18. Hitchcock, 80.
19. Louisville Public Library.
20. Durrett, Dennis Hanks Letter. Weik, 42.
21. Marriage Register A, Hardin County Court.
22. Marriage Bonds, 1795, Hardin County Court.

I do certify that I have consented to the marriage intended to be had and solemized by Jesse Friend and my sister Mary Hanks. December 8th. 1795.

his
WILLIAM X HANKS
mark

23. Durrett, Dennis Hanks Letter. Weik, 43.
24. Marriage Register, Mercer County Court.
25. Letter, Dennis Hanks to Herndon, February, 1866. Weik, 42.
26. Marriage Register A, Mercer County Court.
27. Notes, II, 4.
28. "Louisville Courier-Journal," January 5, 1881.
29. Will Book A, 134, Washington County Court.
30. Marriage Register A, Mercer County Court.
31. Will Book I, 216, Mercer County Court.

32. Will Book 2, 273, Mercer County Court.
33. Will Book 2, 238, Mercer County Court.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Marriage Bonds, 1791, Mercer County Court.
36. Marriage Bonds, 1806, Washington County Court.
37. Notes, II, 35.
38. Will Book 2273, Mercer County Court.
39. United States census of 1790.

CHAPTER III

1. Herndon, 9.
2. Muster Roll:

A muster roll and pay roll of the guard from the fourth regiment of Malitia under the command of Lieut. Geo. Ewing ordered into service at the expense of this state for the defense of the frontiers of Washington County by orders from Brigadier General John Caldwell. This commencing the 8th. day of June 1795 and ending the 7th. day of July 1795.

Capt. John Ewing, Lieut. Nath. Hickerson, Privates; John Mott, John Weekly, William Thomas, Thomas Lincoln, Walker Fowler, Anthony Morgan.

I do certify that the above is a true statement given under my hand, GEORGE EWING

Approved March 26th 1796. ISAAC SHELBY.
DURRETT, CHRONOLOGICAL FILES, 1795.

3. Durrett, Muster Roll. Chronological Files, 1795.
4. Tax Books, 1795, Washington County Court.
5. *Ibid.*, 1796.
6. Warren, Haycraft & Berry Account Book.
7. Tax Book, 1797, Hardin County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
8. Tax Book, 1792, Washington County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.

9. Tax Book, 1791, Washington County Court.
10. Shiloh Churchyard, near Shiloh, Illinois.
11. Data supplied by Jenkin Lloyd Jones.
12. Lea & Hutchinson, 85.
13. Tax Book, 1797, Hardin County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
14. Deed Book, B, 253, Hardin County Court.
15. Warren, Haycraft & Berry Account Book.
16, Fell, Lincoln Autobiography.
17. Deed Book 19, 364, Rockingham County, Virginia.
18. Nicolay & Hay I, 5.
19. Tax Book, 1799, Washington County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
20. Tax Book, 1800, Washington County Court.
21. *Ibid.*, 1801.
22. Marriage Certificates and Permits, 1801, Washington County Court.
23. Tax Book, 1802, Washington County Court.
24. Public Claims, Bundle 1803, Hardin County Court.
25. Commonwealth Papers, Bundle 1799–1805, Hardin Circuit Court.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Public Claims, Bundle 1803, Hardin County Court.
28. Order Book A, 443, Hardin County Court.
29. Insolvent List, Baalom Jones District, 1803, Washington County Court.
30. Tax Book, 1803, Hardin County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
31. Deed Book B, 255, Hardin County Court.
32. Warren, Haycraft Promissory Notes, 1803.
33. Order Book, Quarter Session, October 19, 1803, Hardin Circuit Court.
34. *Ibid.*

35. Juries.

Chaney vs. Young a jury to wit: Robert C. Slaughter, Henry Brandenburg, John Ashcraft, John Logsden, Samuel Bush, Thomas Lincoln, John Coombs, Robert Denbo, John Brady, Jesse Harris, John Pauley and Joseph Vertreese returned a verdict for the deft.

Slaughter vs. Coombs, a jury to wit: Benj. Wright, Philip Jenkins, James Jenkins, William McClure, Jacob Vertreese, John Walters, Thomas Lincoln, Jackman Smith, Isaac Bush, Jesse Harris, John Brady, William Logsdon returned verdict for deft. Motion for new trial and granted on payment of cost.

ORDER BOOK, QUARTER SESSION, APRIL 19, 1804, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

36. Road Petitions, Bundle Before 1805, Hardin County Court.

37. Order Book A, 524, Hardin County Court.

38. Tax Book, 1804, Hardin County Section Kentucky Historical Society.

39. *Ibid.*, 1805.

40. March Term, 1805:

Appointment of Patrollers.

Ordered that Christopher Bush, Robert C. Slaughter, Thomas Lincoln, Gregory Glasscock, be and they are hereby appointed patrolers in the northwardly district of this County and the said Christopher Bush be and he is hereby appointed Captain of said Patrolers.

ORDER BOOK B, 17, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

41. Tax Book, 1806, Hardin County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.

42. Lincoln Marriage Bond.

Lincoln to Commonwealth—Bond. Know all men by these presents that we Thomas Lincoln and Richard Berry are held and firmly bound unto his excellency the Governor of Kentucky for the just and full sum of fifty pounds current money the payment of which will and truly be made to the said governor and his successors, we bind ourselves our heirs etc. jointly and severally firmly by these presents sealed with our seal and dated the 10th. day of June 1806. The condition of the above obligation is such that whereas there is a marriage shortly intended between the above bound Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks for which a license has been issued. Now

if there be no lawful cause to obstruct the said marriage then this obligation to be void or else to remain in full force or virtue in law.

Witness
JOHN H. PARROTT

THOMAS LINCOLN
RICHARD BERRY
garden

43. Jesse Head Marriage Returns:

Washington County

I do hereby certify that the following is a true list of marriages solemnized by me the subscriber from the 28th of April 1806 until the date thereof.

June 26th 1806 joined together in the Holy Estate of Matrimony agreeable to the rules of the M. E. C. Morris Berry and Peggy Simms
Nov 27th 1806 David Mize & Hanah Xter
March 5 1807 Charles Ridge & Anna Davis
March 24 1807 John Head & Sally Clark
March 27th Benjamin Clark & Dolly Head
Jany 14th Edward Pyle & Rosanah McMahon
Decr 22nd 1806 Silas Chamberlin & Betsey West
June 17th 1806 John Springer & Elizabeth Ingram
June 12th 1806 Thomas Lincoln & Nancy Hanks
September 23rd 1806 John Cambron & Hanah White
October 2nd 1806 Anthony Lypey & Keziah Putte
October 23rd 1806 Aaron Harding & Hanah Pollet
April 5th 1807 Daniel Payne Christiana & P—ne
July 26th 1806 Benjamin Clark and Polly Clark
May 1806 Hugh Hoskins & Betsey Dyer
September 25th 1806 John Graham and Catherine Jones
Given under my hand this 22 day of April 1807

JESSE HEAD, D. M. E. C.

Marriage Certificates, Washington County Court.

44. Tax List 1807, Hardin County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.

45. Haycraft, 74.

46. Thomas McIntire Sale:—.

Inventory of the sale of the estate of Thomas McIntire deceased with the amount of what article sold for and to whom sold on the 15 and 16 days of January 1807 by me Benjamin Helm administrator of said estate to wit:

Jos. Kirkpatrick	one heiffer	$ 1.33
Saml. Michel	one cow	8.00
Job. Dye	one sorrel horse	81.00
Ben Helm	4 deer skins	1.62
Jacob La Rue	bay colt	7.00
Joseph Paddock	5 sheep	8.50
David Swank	one wagon	50.00
Benjamine Wright	surveying instrument	36.50
Ben Helm	umbrella and frame	.50
Tobias Hendrix	glass	1.24
Samuel Hackley	one sword	7.85
Thomas Lincoln	one sword	3.00
Edward McCollister	one log chain	6.00
Lewis Brown	one plow	10.00
George Helm	15 heads of hogs	25.75
Ben Helm	table cloth	.50
William Glenn	breeches and jacket pattern	8.63
Robert Alexander	one set curtains	13.00
Joseph Bozworth	counterpin	1.00
William Brownfield	sewing table	2.83
Moses McIntire	razor and case	.50
Jacob Vertreese	bowls and viols	.33
Thomas Lincoln	dish and plates	2.68
Thomas Lincoln	bason and spoons	3.24
Peter Kermichel Jr.	flat irons	2.38
Joseph Chaflin	silver buckles	.75
Ben Helm	930 pounds pork	32.50
James Perciful	Apples	28.50

BEN HELM adm.

[This is but a compilation of selected items. There were 180 sales made, including eleven horses, nineteen head of cattle, several beds, and bedsteads, twelve parcels of books, etc., with a total amount received of $1319.21. Editor.]

WILL BOOK A, 291, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

47. Haycraft Letter, March 28, 1860.

48. Lincoln Family Bible.

49. Lincoln *vs.* Geoghegan.

Thomas Lincoln, Pl. *vs* Denton Geoghegan, Def.
Hardin County Sct.

The Commonwealth of Kentucky to Joseph Chalfin, Constable. You are hereby commanded to summon Denton Geoghegan to appear before me or some other justice of the peace for said county to

answer the complaint of Thomas Lincoln of a plea of debt due by account under five pounds given under my hand this 25th. day of March 1807 and in the 16th year of the Commonwealth.

Summon Peter Bodine and John Smith witnesses for the plaintiff and Eden Coombs.

S. MILLER J. P. H. C.

Indorsement:

Judgment for £4.09.0 debt and 75 cents cost. April 23, 1807

JUDGMENTS AND OTHER PAPERS, BUNDLE 1808–1809, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

50. See indorsement, Notes, III, 49.

51. Lincoln *vs.* Geoghegan.

Judgment for £4.90.0 debt and 75 cents cost.

The said defendant prays an appeal in the County Court and he is admitted by his entering into bond in the clerks office with Robert Bleakley his security April 25th 1807.

S. MILLER J. P. H. C.

Indorsement:

May 1808, Appeal Magistrate affirmed and judgment for cost of appeal.

JUDGMENTS AND OTHER PAPERS, BUNDLE 1808–1809, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

52. Cathey, 95.

53. Order Book B, 230, Hardin County Court.

54. See indorsement, Notes, III, 51.

55. Memorandum Book, 1808, Hardin Circuit Court.

56. Geoghegan *vs.* Lincoln, Miscellaneous Bundle, Hardin Circuit Court.

57. Juries.

Monday April 25, 1808

Commonwealth p. vs John Walters d.

An inditement of the grand jury at October term last for assault and battery. . . .

Thereupon came a jury to wit: Peter Brewer, Peter Miller, James Miller, Moses Pigg, Thomas Lincoln, Daniel Linder, Richard Parrish, John Stater, William Eglen, John Perron, John Glenn.

ORDER BOOK C, 119, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

Tuesday June 17, 1808

Thomas Melton p. vs Michael Barlow d. In case.

. . . Thereupon came a jury to wit: James Wilson, Lewis Brown, William Bush, Thomas Lincoln, William D. Stone, James Miller, Hezekiah Smallwood, John Smoot, Jr., Job Burris, Jos Kirkpatrick, John Smoot, Sr., John Roux.

ORDER BOOK C, 194, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

58. Thomas Lincoln Certificate.

I do certify that Thomas Lincoln guarded William Bray murderer at our last June term one night. Given under my hand this eighth day of October 1808.

1809, June term allowed.

B. OGDEN J. H. C.

JUDGMENTS AND OTHER PAPERS, BUNDLE 1811–1812, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

59. Geoghegan *vs.* Lincoln.

Benjamin Helm C. H. C.

Dear Sirs: I have agreed to have the suit brought by me against Thomas Lincoln struck of the docket. I will pay the costs.

Yours

D. GEOGHEGAN.

3rd. October 1808

MISCELLANEOUS BUNDLE, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

60. Tax Book, 1808, Hardin County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.

61. Equity Bundle 24, Hardin Circuit Court.

62. Notes, III, 58.

63. Crder Book B, 288, Hardin County Court.

64. Tax Book, 1809, Hardin County Court.

65. Deed Book E, 193, Hardin County Court.

66. John Smith Certificate.

I do certify that John Smith guarded John Murphy, prisoner in my custody eight days and eight nights. Given under my hand as Jailor for Hardin County this 25th day of March, 1808.

B. OGDEN, J. H. C.

Indorsement:
I sine the within sertifycate to Thomas Lincoln.
(Two other "sertifycates" are assigned to Lincoln by Smith.)
JUDGMENTS AND OTHER PAPERS, BUNDLE 1811-1812, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

CHAPTER IV

1. Notes, III, 42, 43; VII, 13.
2. Autobiography for Scripps.
3. Hitchcock, 25.
4. Prepared by Jenkins Lloyd Jones.
5. Coffin, 26.
6. Paper, South Western Historical Society, October, 1923.
7. Herndon, 13.
8. Rogers. Marriage Bonds, Washington County Court, 1806.
9. Possessioner's Report, 1780, Nelson Circuit Court.
10. Chancery Bundle June, 1819, Nelson Circuit Court.
11. Herndon, 13.
12. Lamon, 11
13. Marriage Bonds, 1793, Mercer County Court.
14. Hitchcock, 80.
15. Mary Mitchell Letter:

Dear sir:—
You will perhaps think strange to receive a letter from a poor old woman who never had the least acquaintance with you, but sir when you hear my story, I am very sure you will pity at least if you can do no more for me.

My request is in behalf of my grandchild who was taken prisoner by the Indians in the wilderness last fall two years, her name is Sally S. Mitchell daughter of Robert Mitchell, deceased. As you have frequent opportunity of writing Governor Blunt I beg of you

to mention the matter to him as he once promised to use his best endeavor to gain intelligence of her. Request him to write to you whether he has ever found anything certain about her or where she is and should that gentleman write to you (as I hope he will please let me know by a line sent to Mr. Robert Caldwell from where I could soon get it) whether there is any news of my poor grandchild. I am now old and very frail and cannot rest contented without trying every method in my power for her redemption from captivity. I hope you will assist me all you can which favor will be thankfully acknowledged by

Your most obet. and hum'l servant
MARY MITCHELL

May 1st. 1793.

(This letter was addressed "To His Excellency Isaac Shelby Lincoln City." The carrier was "Wm. Mitchell.)

Durrett, Chronological Files, 1793.

16. Will Book 2, 238, Mercer County Court.

17. Marriage Bonds, 1800, Washington County Court.

18. Daniel Mitchell Certificate.

I hereby certify that I have no objection to John Reed issuing a marriage lisence for John Thompson to marry Sarah Mitchell my ward. Jan. 17, 1800

Test.
MOSES RICE
FRANCES BERRY

DANIEL MITCHELL
garden

MARRIAGE BONDS, 1800, WASHINGTON COUNTY COURT.

19. Daniel Mitchell—Jane Berry Marriage Bond, 1794, Washington County.

20. Vital Statistics, Washington County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.

21. Notes, III, 42.

22. Notes, III, 43.

23. Letter to Mrs. Susannah Weathers, December 4, 1861.

24. Hitchcock, 68.

25. Durrett, Graham affidavit.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Lincoln cabin at Harrodsburg, Kentucky.
28. Lamon, 11.
29. Herndon, 13.
30. Holland, 23.

CHAPTER V

1. Cathey, 59; Barton, (a), 122; Cathey, 56.
2. Arthur, 326.
3. Boyd, 79.
4. Deed Book D, 125, Fayette County Court.
5. Tax Book, 1818, Grayson County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
6. Abraham Lincoln and Elizabeth Lucretia Mudd. January 20, 1819, License granted, Marriage Licenses, 1819, Washington County Court.
7. Warren, Interview Files.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Warren, Affidavit Files.
10. Raymond, 16.
11. Haycraft Letter, May 28, 1860.
12. Autobiography for Hicks.
13. Barton, (a), 70; Warren, Interview Files.
14. Warren, Interview Files.
15. Hicks, Lincoln Sketch.
16. Warren, Interview Files.
17. "Larue County Herald," July 19, 1906.
18. Deed Book 23, 20, Larue County Court.
19. Commissioners' Deed Book 2, 436, Larue County Court.
20. McKelvy Fogle Suit, Equity Box 19, Larue Circuit Court.
21. Deed Book 40, 507, Larue County Court.

22. Barton, (a), 347.

23. Mather to Duckworth:

Know all men by these presents that I Richard Mather of the County of Hardin and State of Kentucky, have bargained and sold to William Duckworth of the county and state aforesaid, a certain track or parcel of land lying on the South Fork of Nolin on the east side of the road that goes from Burkharts to Hodgin mill to join the land the said Duckworth now lives on and to run with the south line of the land David Vance bought of me, and to run so to include a small white oak grove, with a straight line with the said Duckworth's line so as to contain 100 acres, for which I do hereby acknowledge to have received full payment, and I Richard Mather my heirs and assigns do obligate myself to convey the said tract or parcel of land to the said William Duckworth by a deed of general warrantee, when the said William Duckworth thinks proper he being at the expense of surveying. As witness my hand and seal this 19th. day of March 1814.

Test — Richard Mather. [Seal]

Her — His

Nancy X Harrison — Nath. X Duckworth

mark — mark

24. Mather *vs.* Greenough, Equity Bundle 29, Hardin Circuit Court.

25. Mather *vs.* Greenough Heirs:

Greenough's 30,000 Acre Tract.

Know all men by these presents that I William Greenough of the City of Philadelphia am held and firmly bound unto John Dewhurst of the City of New York in the full and just sum of ten thousand pounds current money of New York City to the which payment well and truly to be made to the said Dewhurst, his heirs or assigns. I bind myself, my heirs jointly and separately firmly by these presents. Sealed with seal and dated this fifteenth day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six.

The conditions of the above obligation are such that if the above bound William Greenough shall will and truly cause to make or be made unto the said Dewhurst his heirs or assigns a good lawful and sufficient title to a certain tract of land containing thirty thousand acres lying in Jefferson County, on the head of the southern branches of Nolin, Brush Creek and Linn Camp, being part of a sixty thousand acre entry. Beginning at a large popular and white oak on the south side of the head drains of the most eastern branches of the

South Fork of Nolin, thence west 560 poles to a stake in Cunninghams line, thence on agreeable to a survey made by Philip Philips dated the 14th day of April 1784 to include the said thirty thousand acres by a deed or deeds within one year from this date thereof. Then the above obligation to be void or else to remain in full force.

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of

EDW. FLETCHER
JOHN W. ALCOCKS
WM. GREENOUGH

Indorsements:

(1) For the value received I assign all my right title and interest of the within bond to William Weymouth. Given under my hand and seal this 15th. day of October 1791.

Test JOHN DEWHURST.
WILLIAM COEN
FRED'K HIENBERGER

(2) For value received I assign all my right title interest and claim of the within bond to Richard Mather and George Johnson. Given under my hand this 23rd. day of December 1802.

Test. WM. WEYMOUTH.
WILLIAM MARRE
THOMAS ARMSTRONG

EQUITY BUNDLE 29, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Mather *vs.* Greenough, Equity Bundle 29, Hardin Circuit Court.

28. See Notes, III, 25.

29. Mather *vs.* Vance:

Articles of agreement made this first day of May 1805 between Richard Mather of the County of Hardin and State of Kentucky and David Vance of the county and state aforesaid witnesseth that I have sold to the said David Vance a tract or parcel of land, on the waters of the South Fork of Nolin containing 300 acres; beginning at or near a spring called the Sinking Spring to be twice as long as wide and to include as much of a grove called the Little Turkey Grove as will fall within the boundary of aforesaid. And I do oblige myself to make a deed with a general warrantee to the said David Vance, when the said David Vance has made full payment to Richard Mather or his order for the aforesaid land in wit-

ness whereof we have interchangeably set our hands the day and year above written.

RICHARD MATHER.

Witnesses present;
JOHN GUM, SHEPHERD GUM

Indorsements:

(1) For value received I assign the within agreement to Isaac Bush. Given under my hand and seal this 2nd. day of Nov. 1805.
Test. DAVID VANCE.
BEN HELM, JOHN MILLER

(2) For value received I assign the within article to Thomas Lincoln witness my hand and seal the 12th. day of December 1808.
Test. ISSAC BUSH.
SAM HAYCRAFT.

EQUITY BUNDLE 24, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. Mather *vs.* Vance and others. Equity Bundle 24, Hardin Circuit Court.
33. McKelvy Fogle Suit, Equity Box 19, Larue Circuit Court.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Ibid.*
40. *Ibid.*
41. *Ibid.*
42. Deed Book 2, 493, Larue County Court.
43. Deed Book 3, 279, Larue County Court.
44. Deed Book 7, 264, Larue County Court.
45. Deed Book 23, 20, Larue Circuit Court.
46. Commissioners' Deed Book 2, 436, Larue Circuit Court.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Deed Book 34, 377, Larue Circuit Court.

49. Deed Book 40, 507, Larue Circuit Court.

50. McKelvy Fogle *vs.* John Welsh Heirs. Survey:

On the 4th. day of December 1837 agreeable to the notice I went on the land in controversy (McKelvy Fogle and Henry Mather being present) Directed by Mr. Mather to lay off 300 acres of land agreeable to a bond given by Richard Mather to David Vance which I did and bounded as follows to wit;

Beginning at a large white oak 13 poles above the sinking or rock spring running thence N 9½ W 310 poles to a stake in John Taylor's field thence S 89½ E 155 poles to a forked black-jack thence S 9½ E 310 to a black-jack, thence N 89½ W 155 poles to the beginning.

CHRISTOPHER MILLER
HENRY MILLER

JOHN DUNCAN D. S. H. C.

Directed by McKelvy Fogle to lay off 100 acres of land at the north end of David Vances 300 acre survey which I did as follows to wit:

Beginning at a small hickory and black-jack in David Vances west line of his 300 acre survey running thence with said Vance line N 9½ W 155 to a stake corner to said Vance thence with another line of the same S 89½ E 155 to a black-jack corner to said Vance, thence with another line of the same S 9½ E 155 to a post oak two hickories and a post oak in said line, thence N. 89½ W 155 to the beginning.

JOHN DUNCAN D. S. H. C

CHRISTOPHER MILLER
HENRY MILLER c. c.

1, 6, 5, 11, on plat represents the old marked boundry called Vances Survey in it there is 348½ acres.

JOHN DUNCAN D. S. H. C.
EQUITY BOX 19, LARUE CIRCUIT COURT.

51. Warren, Interview Files.

52. Deed Book 7, 536. Larue County Court.

53. Warren, Interview Files.

54. Newspaper clipping owned by Mrs. W. A. Pusey.

55. Warren, Haycraft Commissioners' Returns.

56. Deed Book 40, 507. Larue County Court.

57. "Christian Science Monitor," February 12, 1925.

58. Nicolay and Hay, I, 35.

CHAPTER VI

1. "Literary Digest," February 17, 1925.
2. Cathey 95.
3. Lincoln Family Bible.
4. Letter to David Lincoln, April 2, 1848.
5. Letter to Samuel Haycraft, May 28, 1860.
6. Scripps, Lincoln Autobiography.
7. Order Book B, 291, Hardin County Court.
8. Gore, 26–30.
9. Order Book, February 13, 1809, Washington County Court.
10. Gore, 31, 32.
11. "Larue County Herald," July 9, 1906.
12. Mather, 158.
13. Durrett, A. M. Brown Letter, Scrap Book.
14. Gore, 38.
15. Durrett, A. M. Brown Letter, Scrap Book.
16. Tax Books, 1812–1816, Hardin County Court.
17. Mather, 85, 158.
18. *Ibid.*, 155, 158.
19. *Ibid.*, 128.
20. "Larue County Herald," July 19, 1906.
21. Atkinson, 6, 7.
22. "McClure's Magazine," 1924, "The Birth of Lincoln."
23. Tax Book, 1809, Hardin County Court.
24. Atkinson, 8.
25. Letter to George Ashmun, June 4, 1860.

CHAPTER VII

1. Tax Book, 1816, Hardin County Court.
2. Tax Book, 1811, Hardin County Court.

3. Tax Book, 1812, Hardin County Court.
4. Estray Book, 1806–1815, 426, Hardin County Court.
5. Will Book C, 54–68. Hardin County Court.
6. Haycraft, 153.
7. Equity Bundle 24, Hardin Circuit Court.
8. Order Book C. 144, Hardin County Court.
9. Map published by Charles Williams and C. M. Barnes, 1899.
10. Jonathan Joseph Sale:

A List of the Estate of Jonathan Joseph Deceased

Sarah Joseph	one bed and furniture and bedstead	$7.00
Do	one loom quill wheel	6.25
Do	one spinning wheel	2.50
Isaac Lafollett	one wedge	.75
Henry Hill	one ax and mattox	2.12½
Thomas Lincoln	one currying comb	.63
Joshua Waide	one looking glass	.90
Thomas Gallaher	two bridles	.50
Jarrard Bowling	two sheep	2.00
Thomas Lincoln	one heiffer	9.42½
John Merrifield	one heiffer	7.19½
John O'Donald	one heiffer	5.75½

[This is but a partial list of the sales. Ed.]

At a county court began and held for Hardin County at the court house in Elizabeth Town on Monday the 10th day of October 1814, the within inventory of the estate of Jonathan Joseph deceased was produced in court and ordered to record

Attest Samuel Haycraft D. G. H. C.
Will Book B, 183, Hardin County Court.

11. Thomas Hill Estate

A true inventory of the estate of Thomas Hill deceased this 19th of July 1814

Mary Ann Hill	one desk	$21.00
" " "	one bed furniture and bedstead	20.00
Peter Atherton	one loom	.09
Caleb Hazel	one mans saddle	2.33⅓

John Byrne	one mans saddle	12.00
Corley Scott	one blind bridle	1.25
Caleb Hazel	one hoe	1.16⅔
William Carter	one raw hide	2.16⅔
James Dewitt	linen wheel	1.00
Mary Mitchell	one yearling heiffer	1.25
Abraham Bray	24 hogs	21.00
Ben N. Mitchell	one horse	48.50
Thomas Lincoln	one truck wagon	.08⅓

[This is but a partial list of the sales. Ed.]

RICHARD REDMOND A. D. & C.
WILL BOOK C. 254, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

12. Mill Creek Deed:

STATER TO LINCOLN

This indenture made this 2nd. day of September one thousand eight hundred and three, between Dr. John F. Stater of Green County and State of Kentucky, of the one part and Thomas Lincoln of Hardin County, state aforesaid of the other part *Witnesseth:* That for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred and eighteen pounds in hand paid, the receipt of which before signing and sealing of these presents, he the said Dr. John F. Slater doth hereby acknowledge have bargained and sold and by these presents doth grant, bargain and sell unto the said Thomas Lincoln a certain tract or parcel of land containing two hundred and thirty-eight acres, part of the 1600 acre survey patented to William May, bought by said Stater of Joseph Fenwick and bounded as follows, to wit; Beginning at a hickory corner to Robert Huston survey, part of said 1600 acre survey, thence South thirty degrees west one hundred and eighty-three poles to a stake corner to Huston, thence North forty five degrees West one hundred and fifty five poles to a black oak corner to the original survey North twenty four degrees West one hundred and forty poles to a white oak in Shepherds line corner to the original, thence North thirty one degrees West fifty poles to a dogwood white oak and gum corner to Thomas Williams in the original line, thence with Williams line South sixty seven East two hundred and fifty poles to a white oak and hickory South 31 degrees West twenty poles to the beginning. . . .

To have and to hold the above mentioned two hundred and thirty eight acres of land with all its appurtenances barns, stable, ways, houses, water and conveniences, to the above mentioned Thomas Lincoln his heirs executors and administrators forever against him,

the said Dr. John F. Stater, his heirs executors or administrators forever, and he the said Dr. John F. Stater as well for his heirs as for himself doth further covenant and agree to and with the said Thomas Lincoln and his heirs that he will warrant and forever defend the above mentioned two hundred and thirty eight acres of land with all of its appurtenances to the said Thomas Lincoln his heirs executors and administrators forever to their proper use and behalf, against him the said Dr. John F. Stater and his heirs executors, etc. forever, but not against the claim or claims of any person or persons whatever, but—be it plainly understood should said land be taken by any prior or legal claim, then the above bound Dr. John F. Stater his heirs executors are to pay to the said Thomas Lincoln his heirs, executors etc., the above mentioned sum of one hundred and eighteen pounds. In witness of the above bound Dr. John F. Stater doth hereunto set his hand and affix his seal the day and date above written.

JOHN F. STATER [Seal]

Marginal note:

Delivered to Thomas Lincoln April 23, 1814.

Hardin County;

Sct. s. s.

I hereby certify that on the second day of September last this indenture . . . from John F. Stater to Thomas Lincoln was acknowledged by the said Stater to be his act and deed and the same was admitted to record on this 26th day of November 1803.

BENJAMIN HELM, H. C. C.

DEED BOOK B, 253, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

13. Deed, Thomas and Nancy Lincoln to Charles Melton:

This indenture made this twenty seventh day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fourteen between Thomas Lincoln and Nancy his wife of the County of Hardin and the State of Kentucky, of the one part and Charles Melton of the county and state aforesaid of the other part, witnesseth;

That the said Thomas Lincoln and Nancy his wife, has this day granted bargained and sold, and by these presents doth grant bargain and sell, alein and confirm unto the said Charles Melton a certain parcel or tract of land containing 200 acres of land for and in consideration of one hundred pounds to the said Lincoln and Nancy his wife and in hand paid by the said Milton the receipt whereof is acknowledged, which land was patented in the name of William May and is conveyed from John Tom Stater to Thomas Lincoln of deed bearing the date the 2nd of September 1803, lying

and being in Hardin County on the waters of Mill Creek and bounded as follows:

Beginning at a hickory corner to Robert Houston's survey, part of a sixteen hundred acre survey, thence south 30 degrees west 183 poles to a stake corner to Houston, thence north 45 degrees west 155 poles to a black oak, corner of the original survey, north 24 degrees west 140 poles to a white oak in Shepherd's line, corner to the original, thence 31 degrees west 60 poles to a dogwood white oak and gum corner to Thomas Williams in the original line, thence with Williams line south 67 east 250 poles to a white oak and hickory, south 31 degrees west 22 poles to the beginning, which courses contain 238 acres, and the said Melton is at liberty to take 200 acres out of the said 238 acres where he thinks proper and the said Lincoln and Nancy his wife does forever warrent and defend the said 200 acres of land from themselves and their heirs executors, administrators and assigns forever, to the said Melton, but not from the claim or claims of any other person. But if the said land should be lost by any better or prior claim then the said Lincoln is to pay the said Melton the sum of 100 pounds. In witness whereof the said Thomas Lincoln and Nancy his wife hath hereunto set their hands and affixed their seals the day and date before written. Interlined before signing

THOMAS LINCOLN [seal]
her
NANCY X HANKS
mark

Hardin County sct.

I Samuel Haycraft, Jr., Deputy Clerk of the county court for the county aforesaid, do hereby certify that on the day of the date hereof, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy his wife, personally appeared before me and acknowledged the within indenture or deed of bargain and sale to Charles Melton as and for their voluntary act and deed, she the said Nancy being at the same time examined by me separate and voluntarily relinquished her right of dower which she has or may have in and to the land hereby conveyed and that she was willing that the same should be recorded and that I have truly recorded the same this 27th day of October 1814

SAMUEL HAYCRAFT, JR. D. C., H. C. C.
DEED BOOK E, 193, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

14. Tax Book 1815, Hardin County Court.
15. Thayer, 68.
16. Editor's Note.

When Thomas Lincoln left Kentucky in the fall of 1816 the land on which he lived, and which he claimed, was in litigation. In June, 1818, a verdict was found for the defendants Lincoln and Lindsey. The land reverted from Lincoln to Lindsey, and Lindsey sold it to John Price, as revealed by a bond, G. Lindsey to J. Price, bearing the date October 5, 1821. In a suit over this land, styled William Bush *vs.* John Price, Lindsey affirms that "he and those claiming under him have been in possession of the said land for 24 years." This suit over the Knob Creek land was not settled until 1828, when the land was ordered sold by the court. It was purchased by William Bush on May 26, 1828, for $200, "that being the highest and best bid." Ordinary Bundle 91, Bush *vs.* Price, Hardin Circuit Court.

17. Tax Book, 1799, Washington County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.

18. Tax Book, 1815, Hardin County Court.

19. Mather *vs.* Vance.

BILL

To the Honorable the Judges of the Hardin Circuit Court in Chancery sitting. Your orator Richard Mather respectfully showeth that sometime in 1805 your orator sold to a certain David Vance who your orator prays may be made a defendant to this bill, a certain tract or parcel of land lying and being in the circuit afsd. on the waters on the south fork of Nolin containing 300 acres as will appear by the duplicate of an article of agreement of 1st. May 1805. between your orator and sd. Vance and hereby made a part of this bill and filed herewith, that your orator was to make sd. Vance a deed to sd. land as soon as the purchase money should be paid as will also appear from said articles of agreement, that your orator has been paid a part of the purchase money by said Vance and for the balance took Vance's note for £15.12.4 payable eighteen months after date to wit the 1st. of November 1806 in good trade at cash price which note he now holds undischarged and is filed herewith and made a part of this bill. But your orator further states that believing Vance to be good for the amount of said note he took no personal security with Vance in the note for the payment of the amount

of it. That Vance has since sold the land to a certain Isaac Bush whom your orator prays to be made a defendant here and that sd. Bush sold to one Thomas Linkhorn who is also made a defendant to this bill and who is now living on the land as your orator supposses. That none of the said purchasers have ever had the legal title to the land the same then and still being your orator's. that the sd. Bush and Linkhorn purchased the sd. land of Vance with a full knowledge that your orator retained an equitable lein on it for a part of his purchase money and that they therefore took it subject to that equitable claim. Your orator further states that since the sale of said land by your orator sd. Vance has become altogether insolvent and is now living as he is informed and believes at Natchez or New Orleans nor has he as your orator knows of an article of property in this state. Now so it is may it please your Honors that although your orator has a just debt coming to him there is no process of common law by which he can obtain it and must entirely lose it unless this honorable court will equitable interfere in his behalf. All which actings and doing of sd. defts. is contrary to equity and good conscience, and tend to the manifest injury of your orator and as your orator is remediless in the premises at common law and only relievable in equity when full and complete justice is done according to the circumstances of each case to that and therefore may it please your honors to subject sd. land to your orators debt and to grant and decree to your orator a sale of sd. land or so much thereof that would satisfy your orators sd. debt. herein serve for an interest and costs and grant to your orator the writ of Subpoena against sd. defts. and compel them to answer simply and specially all and singular the allegations of this bill and such other and further relief as to equity and good conscience may belong and you orator will ever pray.

1813 1st. Sept. filed.

GAITHER P. C.

Exhibit # 2. Lincoln vs. Mather—Answer

1813 Sept 7th.

Sworn to and filed in the usual form.

The Separate answer of Thomas Lincoln to a bill in chancery exhibited by Richard Mather against him David Vance and Isaac Bush. This deft, saying and reserving to himself all manner of exceptions to the many improper statements contained in pltf. bill for answer thereunto or so much as he is advised as is material for him to answer, answereth thereunto and saith that true it is that the deft. purchased the land mentioned in pltf. bill, of Isaac Bush one of the defts. and that said Bush purchased said land of Vance that he

was fully informed when he purchased as aforesaid that the pltf. had a lein on the land as stated in his bond or article of agreement. The respondent also states that he was informed by Bush when he purchased that a small balance was due, but he is informed and believes that a part of the note exhibited with the pltfs. bill has long since been paid off by Vance. The respondent also states that he proposed to the pltf. to pay off what was due him and the pltf. to make a deed to the land agreeable to the tenor of his obligation. The pltf. agreed to receive payment for what was due from Vance and the respondents was even willing to make payment to the full amount of complainants demand not knowing then that any part had been paid off. This respondent also states that after he had proposed to pay complainant, he went to see Bush to make arrangements that when he saw Bush which was in Elizabethtown he was informed by complainant that suit was brought which was a fact. This respondent feels a willingness to pay what is due, but thinks the complainant brought suit to recover cash for the amount of his trade note. This respondent conceives that the respondent has no right to maintain his suit as there appears to be an assignment on said note and not reassigned the name to the assignment being ruled out, he prays the court to decree that the complainant may be compelled to make a deed to the land, as he is bound by his obligation to do, and if he has a right to maintain his action to receive his pay in good trade to pay the costs occasioned by the suit afsd. and do what to them may seem equitable and right.

his
THOMAS X LINCOLN.
mark

Exhibit # 3. Mather vs. Vance—Replication.

1813 Sept. 18th

Filed attest Sam'l Haycraft.

The complainant for replication to the separate answers of Lincoln and Bush, herein says that the matters and things in said answers so far as they contradict the allegation in complainants bill are not true and that his bill is true.

GAITHER P. C.

Exhibit # 4. Bush vs. Mather—Answer.

1813 Sept. 18th.

Sworn to in the usual form Ben Helm.

The separate answer of Isaac Bush in a bill of complaint exhibited against him Thomas Lincoln and David Vance by Rich-

ard Mather, this deft. saving and etc. for answer to said bill saith that he purchased the land mentioned in pltfs. bill having a perfect knowledge of the lein on said land at the time of purchase as set forth in the article exhibited with said bill, but says positively that he had no knowledge when he purchased that a part of the purchase money was due. He also states that Lincoln as he is informed and believes proposed paying the complainant his demand against Vance to the amount of his note. He further says that after Lincoln had proposed to pltf. to pay pltf. and pltf. agreed to receive the amount of his demand Lincoln came to the respondent for the purpose of making arrangements for paying the note and lifting the same. In the meantime suit was brought. This deft. also states that Vance is worth more at this time than he was at any time he lived in Kentucky, that he now lives in the Mississippi Territory, the respondent thinks and upon good grounds that the complainant brought suit for the purpose of turning his property debt into cash, as he could get his demand in trade. He further states that he is informed and believes that a part of said note is paid off but to what amount he is not informed. He prays this honorable court to dismiss complainants bill with costs, that he may be compelled to take what is due him in trade that he be decreed to make a deed to the land to Thomas Lincoln this respondent having sold the land to said Lincoln, and do further whatever to them may seem equitable and right, respondent will ever pray.

ISAAC BUSH.

Exhibit # 5. Lincoln vs. Mather—Answer.

1814 Sept. 5th.

Sworn in the usual form before me Sam Haycraft.

The amended answer of Thomas Lincoln to his former answer in a suit against him and Isaac Bush an David Vance by Richard Mather. This respondent does not admit the note exhibited in said Mathers bill was given in part consideration of said land in his former answer therefore calls on him to answer on oath that if this respondent did not offer to pay him the amount of his demand against Vance for the land. Your respondent states that no demand was made of the property debt for the dues against Vance. He also prays a decree over against Bush and Vance if a decree should be given in behalf of Mather.

his
THOMAS X LINCOLN.
mark

Indorsement:
1816 Jan. 22 filed in court without prejudice to the cause.
Attest BEN HELM Clk.

Exhibit # 6. Mather vs. Vance—Decree

1816 Sept. 12th.

Rendered and entered on record.

Richard Mather vs. David Vance Isaac Bush and Thomas Lincoln
This day came the complainant by his attorney and the court being now sufficiently advised of and concerning the premises do order and decree that the complainant do recover of defendant Vance the sum of $61.50 with interest from this day till pay and costs and that unless said Vance or the other defts. or either of them do pay to the complainant within ten days the sum of $61.50 with interest and costs, of this suit the land mentioned in complainants bill, or so much thereof as will be sufficient to satisfy the $61.50 interest and costs, be sold on the premises to the highest bidder for ready money the commissioner having given ten days notice of the time and plan of the sale at the most public place, in the neighborhood of the land and also at the court house in Elizabethtown, and that the money arising from sd. sale be paid by sd. commissioner to sd. complainant to satisfy his $61.50 interest and cost and that Benj. Wright be appointed commissioner to sell the land and make this report herein to the next January term of this court. It is further ordered that Lincoln recover of Bush the purchase money with interest from the day of payment and his costs in his behalf in this suit expended and that the contract between Bush and Vance be rescinded and set aside. It is further ordered and decreed that Mather make a general warantee deed to the purchaser, and that he also make a general warantee deed for so much of the land as remains unsold, to the defendant Vance and this case be continued for further proceedings until the next term of this court.

Exhibit # 7. Mather vs. Vance—Commissioners Report

In pursuant of a decree of the Hardin Circuit Court made at their September term 1816 in the suit of Richard Mather against David Vance and others, after having advertised according to the directions of the decree I have exposed to sale on the premises 300 acres of land mentioned in the decree for the highest bidder for ready money amounting to $87.74 and John Welsh became the purchaser of the whole and paid the money. Given under my hand this 19th. of December 1816.

BENJ. WRIGHT Commissioner.

Exhibit # 8. Richard Mather—Receipts 1821

Received of Benj. Wright Commissioner $87.74 the amount of my debt cost and interest obtained against David Vance. Received by me this 19th. day of December 1816.

RICHARD MATHER

Test
JOHN MERRIFIELD

EQUITY BUNDLE 24, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

20. Equity Bundle 24, Hardin Circuit Court. Notes, VII, 19.

21. Order Book C, 113, Hardin County Court.

22. Order Book C, 365, Hardin County Court.

23. Marriage Bonds, 1816, Hardin County Court.

24. Stout, Sheridan and Rhodes *vs.* Lincoln and Lindsey —Ejectment.

Exhibit # 1. Thomas Stout and others vs. Thomas Lincoln—Bill

John Doe complains of Richard Roe in custody of a plea of trespass and ejectment for on the first day of Jan. 1815 at the circuit aforesaid Thomas Stout heir at law of Frances Stout who was one of the heirs of Thomas Middleton deceased, and Hannah Rhodes the other heir of Thomas Middleton deceased, did demise lease and to let unto the said John Doe a certain tract or parcel of land lying and being in the circuit aforesaid containing 10,000 acres with the appurtenances, and patented in the name of the said Thomas Middleton lying on the south side of the Rolling Fork to have and to hold . . . Mr. Thomas Lincoln, Tenant in possession.

You will perceive by the foregoing declaration in ejectment that I am sued for the premises mentioned or some part thereof in your possession to which I have no claim or title. If therefore you have any thereto and intend to defend it you must appear at the courthouse in Elizabethtown on the first day of our next March Term of Hardin Circuit Court and make your defense otherwise I shall suffer judgment to pass against me by default and you will be turned out of possession.

Your loving friend, RICHARD ROE

15th Sept. 1815.

Indorsements:

1815, Dec. 27, Executed on the within named Thomas Lincoln

ter.ant in possession of the premises, by delivering him a copy of the within declaration of ejectment and the notice thereunder written, and at the same time explaining to him it was a suit for the land on which he lived.

ROBT. MCCLURE, Dp. for A. Coombs S. H. C.

1816, Feb. 12 Filed. Attest SAM. HAYCRAFT

1816, March, Leave to take depositions if security be given during the present term and continued.

1816, June, Thomas Lincoln and George Lindsey made defendants.
Dismissed for plaintiff to take depositions
Ordered survey for plaintiff. Continued.

1816, Sept. Continued at pltfs. cost and survey ordered.

1817, March, Ordered survey and continued.

1817, June, Ordered survey for pltf. and continued.

1817, Sept. Dismissed for pltfs. and defts. to take depositions.
Continued

1818, March, Orders for pltfs. and defts. to take depositions of John Thomas etc. Continued.

1818, June, Jury Verdict for the defts.
We of the Jury find for the defts.
ROBERT BELL, FOREMAN.

Exhibit # 2. Stout vs Lincoln—Notice

Mr. William Brownfield, Thomas Lincoln, Isaac La Follett, Jess La Follett, Clark Tucker, Peter Minges, Job Dye, William Ash, George Redmond, Ignatius Strange, take notice that on the third and fourth Mondays of August next we shall at the home of Abraham Sheridan in the city of Philadelphia, Penn. to take the depositions of Thos. Shields, William Troutwine, Conrod Hanse, George Ingles and others . . .

June 14, 1816

We are yours
ABRAHAM SHERIDAN
THOS. STOUT
HANNAH RHODES

Exhibit # 3

SHERIDAN VS LINDSEY AND LINCOLN, BILL OF EXCEPTIONS.

Upon the trial of this case it appears that Thomas Lincoln was the tenant in possession upon whom the declaration in ejectment was levied, and who was admitted and now is a deft. in this action. It appears that George Lindsey was also admitted a deft. with the said Lincoln after the pltf. had read the patent marked A to Thomas Middleton made part thereof in this offense. . . . The legal notice of time, place of taking the depositions afsd. had been served

on the deft. Thomas Lincoln, no service upon the deft. Lindsey It appeared he was then in the County of Breckenridge and his counsel stated was the land lord of Lincoln and employed them to defend the suit. The defts. counsel objected to the reading of the said dep. as witness against either or both defts. The pltf. contended as to the deft. Lincoln the tenant in the actual possession the dep. could be read if not against the other defts. The court excludes the dep. afsd. to which the pltfs. accept it. It prays the above was all the witness offered on either side.

N. B. The service of notice was after Lincoln was made a co-deft. It appears that Lincoln had moved off the place in the fall of 1816 after the depositions were taken.

ALFRED METCALF [Seal]

Equity Bundle, Hardin Circuit Court. [This bundle had been removed from the files, and the writer found it in some unindexed material with some papers of the Lincoln-Geoghegan suit. It was returned to the miscellaneous Bundle where it was found.]

25. Lamon, 16.
26. Snider, 38.
27. Stephenson, 9.

CHAPTER VIII

1. Cathey, 193.
2. Peters, 3.
3. Morse, 9.
4. Lamon, 12.
5. Deed, Samuel Haycraft to Sarah Johnston:

This indenture made this seventeenth day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen between Samuel Haycraft and Peggy his wife of the County of Hardin and the State of Kentucky of the one part and Sarah Johnston of the county and state aforesaid of the other part witnesseth; that the same Samuel Haycraft and Peggy his wife for and in consideration of the sum of twenty-five dollars for them in hand paid . . . do sell to the said Sarah Johnston her heirs and assignees forever one undivided moiety or half part of a certain lot or piece of ground containing one acre and one quarter near Elizabethtown . . . it being the same lot for which the said Sarah Johnston holds a bond on the said Samuel

Haycraft dated the 12th. day of February 1817. The moeity hereby conveyed is to be taken off the end adjoining Ben Helm's and to include the house the said Sarah Johnston now lives in . . .

SAM HAYCRAFT. [Seal]
her
PEGGY X HAYCRAFT
mark
DEED BOOK G, 231, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

6. Warren, Affidavit Files.
7. Lamon, 12.
8. Lamon, 30.
9. Stoddard, 17.
10. Trustees Book, October 4, 1797, Elizabethtown, Kentucky.
11. *Ibid.*
12. Notes, III, 46.
13. Cathey, 193.
14. Stephenson, 9.
15. Gore, 31–37.
16. Durrett, Brown Letter, Scrap Book.
17. Order Book B, 288, Hardin County Court.
18. Nicolay and Hay, 1, 25.
19. Letter to Samuel Haycraft, June 4, 1860.
20. Record Book, June 7, 1823, Pigeon Church, Indiana.
21. Equity Bundle 1, Hardin Circuit Court.

CHAPTER IX

1. Barton, (a), 187.
2. Scripps, Lincoln Autobiography.
3. Lamon, 13.
4. Coleman, 8, 10.
5. Lincoln Family Bible.
6. Coleman, 8, 10.

7. Letter to Samuel Haycraft, May 28, 1860.
8. Marriage Register, Spencer County Court-house, Indiana.
9. Tombstone in Pigeon Creek Churchyard, Indiana.
10. "Education in Religion and Morals," Coe, 227.
11. Warren, Curio Collection.
12. Letter to Samuel Haycraft, May 28, 1860.
13. Scripps, Lincoln Autobiography.
14. Mather, 162.
15. Tarbell, I, 17.
16. Weik, 15.
17. Mather, 94.
18. Herndon, 17.
19. Durrett, Brown Letter, Scrap Book.
20. Map of Larue County, published by Williams and Barnes, 1899.
21. Herndon, 18.
22. Lamon, 15.
23. Durrett, Brown Letter 1886, Scrap Book.
24. "Larue County Herald."
25. Gore, Preface.
26. Letter to Samuel Haycraft, May 28, 1860.
27. Weik, 15.
28. Lincoln Family Bible. Haycraft History, 112.
29. Daniel Johnston Bond.

November 14, 1814.

Daniel Johnston is appointed jailor of Hardin County whereupon he took the oaths required by law and entered into and acknowledged his bonds in the penalty of one thousand dollars as the law directs with John Sneed, Jackson Hedges, Patrick Mirvin, Stephen Rawlings, William Stelcer and Cornelius Rings his securities.

ORDER BOOK C, 192, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

Monday 8th of July 1816

Ordered that John Haywood is and he is hereby appointed Jailor of Hardin County in place of Daniel Johnston deceased . . .

ORDER BOOK C, 315, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

30. Haycraft, 111.
31. Haycraft, 112.
32. Herndon, 17.
33. Haycraft, 112.
34. Trustees' Book, August 7, 1812, Elizabethtown Academy.
35. Haycraft, 112.
36. Scripps, Lincoln Autobiography.

CHAPTER X

1. Warren, Haycraft-Berry Account Book.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Tax Book, 1797, Hardin County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
4. Warren, Haycraft-Berry Account Book.
5. Warren, Haycraft Promissory Notes.
6. Lamon, 10
7. Chancery Bundle, June, 1819, Nelson Circuit Court.
8. Tax Book, 1805, Hardin Court Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
9. Deed Book C, 246, Hardin County Court.
10. Miscellaneous Bundle, Hardin County Court.
11. Notes, III, 46.
12. Notes, III, 49, 51, 59.

Exhibit # 1. Lincoln *vs.* Geoghegan.

Bill of hewing to be done by Thomas Lincoln in a workmanlike manner, at one penny half penny per square foot.

4 posts	9 feet long	12 inches square
2 "	9 " "	12 by 14 inches
3 "	9 " "	10 inches square
2 sills	15 " "	8 by 17 inches
1 "	15 " "	12 inches square
2 "	40 " "	12 " "

2 plates	40	"	"	8 by 10	inches
12 joists.	15	"	"	8 inches	square
2 peices	14	"	"	12 by 15	inches
2 "	14	"	"	9 inches	square
2 "	12	"	"	14 "	"

A true bill taken from the original
Exhibit # 2. Work done by Lincoln.

4 posts	9	feet	long	12 inches	square
2 "	9	"	"	12 by 14	inches
3 "	9	"	"	10 inches	square
2 sills	14½	"	"	8½ by 17	inches
1 "	14½	"	"	12 inches	square
2 "	40	"	"	12 by 13	inches
2 "	40	"	"	8 by 10	inches
12 sleepers	15	"	"	8 inches	square
2 "	14½	"	"	9 inches	square
2 posts	12½	"	"	14 inches	square
2 plates	14½	"	"	10 inches	square

78	feet		
39	"		
45	"		
64	"		
29	"		
166⅔	feet		
120	feet		
240	feet		
43½	"		
58½	"		
48¼	"		
926	at	1½	per foot

2 pieces 14 feet long 12 by 15 inches	63¼	
Deduct over charge above	29	
	34¼	£5.15.9
		4.3
		£6.00.0

Credit on the account £1.11.0
JUDGMENTS AND OTHER PAPERS, BUNDLE 1808–1809, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

13. Haycraft, 55.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. Schurz.
17. George Lindsey *vs.* John Kennedy.

Exhibit # 1

Hardin Circuit Court.

George Lindsey complains of John Kennedy in custody of the sheriff in a plea of trespass in it he avers that whereas the plaintiff to wit in circuit aforesaid was possessed of two hundred bushels of corn, of his own proper goods and the chattles of one hundred and twenty five dollars and being so possessed the said deft. on the . . .

day of . . . in circuit aforesaid with foil and avenge, siezed, carried off and converted to his own use the said two hundred bushel of corn, against the peace and dignity of the commonwealth and to the plaintiff damage $500. and therefore he sues.

SMITH & TOBIN P. L.

Indorsements:

(A) 1817 April 30 filed. Atty William Farleigh
June continued; Sept continued; 1818 March continued;
June continued; September continued;
(B) We the jury find for the defendant.

Exhibit # 2

Summons filed for the following witnesses, for George Lindsey; George Redman, Shepherd Gum, Thomas Price, John Price, Caleb Hazel, Shadrack Duncan.
Summons filed for the following witnesses for John Kennedy Thomas Lincoln, John Glenn, Shadrack Duncan, John Ashcraft.

Indorsement on this summons:

Executed on all but Thos. Lincoln, he no inhabitant.
Sept. Term 1818 5th day.

ROBERT MCCLURE D. S. H. C.

Exhibit # 3

Kennedy to Lincoln, Attachment,

The Commonwealth of Kentucky to any constable in Hardin County greeting. Whereas information hath been made to me this day on oath of John Kennedy agent for Abraham Sheridan, and Hannah Rhoades of Philadelphia, that Thomas Linkhorn is justly indebted to them the just sum of forty dollars for a rent of a piece of land, and Kennedy hath probable cause to suspect and doth suspect the said Linkhorn for cancelled his property and that the ordinary process of the law cannot be served on him, they are therefore in the name of the Commonwealth of Kentucky direct you to attach so much of the estate of the said Linkhorn as will be sufficient to satisfy the debt aforesaid and all costs that may occur from same, and it safely keep in your hand, so as to have it before me or some other justice of the peace of said county for further proceedings to be held and fail not. Given under my hand this 20 day of December 1816 and 25th year of the Commonwealth.

S. MARTIN J. P.

Indorsement:

(A) By virtue of this attachment I have attached about forty

bushels of corn in the loft of the house that Caleb Hazel now lives in. This 3rd day of Jan. 1817.

SHAD DUNCAN C. H. C.

(B) We of the jury find for the pltf., sixteen dollars and sixty six cents.

JESSE PARKER, foreman.

ORDINARY BUNDLE 82, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

18. Notes, X, 17, Exhibit 1.

19. Cathey.

20. Order Book D, 471, Hardin Circuit Court.

21. Mordecai Lincoln's Earmark.

April 4, 1797.

On the motion of Mordecai Lincoln it is ordered that his earmark be recorded as follows:—a half cross out of the under side of the left ear and a slit in the right.

ORDER BOOK 1797, WASHINGTON COUNTY COURT.

22. Thomas Lincoln *vs.* Walker Pemberton.

Affidavit of Elias Hill

Sometime about four years ago (1806) I this deponent was present at the still house of Thomas Lincoln in company with George Wyman, Walker Pemberton and others, at which time I this deponent was called upon to sign a certain instrument of writing which I understood contained a contract from said Walker Pemberton to Thomas Lincoln for sawing wood scantling and getting shingles.

BUNDLE 170, FAYETTE CIRCUIT COURT.

23. Boyd, 91.

24. Cathey, 52.

CHAPTER XI

1. Order Book, 1780, 60, Nelson County Court.

2. "Kentucky Gazette," March, 22, 1788.

3. Chancery Bundle, 1809, Lincoln *vs.* Matthis, Nelson Circuit Court.

4. Tax Book, 1800, Washington County Court.

5. Mordecai Lincoln *vs.* William Pile:

Mordecai Lincoln complains of William Pile in custody of a plea of trespass on the case whereas the deft . . . at the parish of Kentucky aforesaid was a public inn keeper, in the town of Springfield . . . the plaintiff was possessed of a brown mare of the value of £25. and did deliver said mare in to the hands and keeping of said Deft. as tavern keeper to keep said mare for pay and restore said mare when requested to the Plaintiff who was at that time the said Deft's guest. Nevertheless the Deft. did so carelessly and neglectfully attend to the mare of the plaintiff that she the said mare was lost or stolen out of the possession and keeping of the Deft.

Jury finds for plaintiff £10.

BUNDLE 1800, WASHINGTON CIRCUIT COURT.

6. Notes, VII, 10.

7. Gore, 306.

8. Estray Book, 1806–1815, 426, Hardin County Court.

9. "Hart County News," April 7, 1919.

10. Tax Books, 1809, 1811, 1812, Hardin County Court.

11. Tax Books, 1815, Hardin County Court.

12. Order Book B, 51, 52, Hardin County Court.

13. Editor's compilation of bounties paid on wolf-scalps, from Order Book B, Hardin County Court:

November,	1805,	75	wolf-scalps,		p. 49
"	1806,	71	"	"	p. 131
"	1807,	74	"	"	p. 193
"	1808,	74	"	"	p. 266
"	1809,	18	"	"	p. 411
"	1810,	29	"	"	p. 474

14. Ordinary Bundle 1, Morrison *vs.* Howard, Hardin Circuit Court.

CHAPTER XII

1. Coleman, 7.

2. Notes, III, 2.

3. Durrett, Chronological Files, 1795.
4. Public Claims, Bundle 1803, Hardin County Court.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Commonwealth Papers, Bundle 1799–1805, Hardin Circuit Court.
7. Order Book A, 443, Hardin County Court.
8. Warren, Interview Files.
9. Judgments and Other Papers, Bundle 1811–1812, Hardin County Court.
10. Commonwealth Papers, Bundle 1799–1805, Hardin Circuit Court.
11. Judgments and Other Papers, Bundle 1811–1812, Hardin County Court.
12. Bush *vs.* Shaw.

OCTOBER TERM 1803 WEDNESDAY THE 19TH.

Bush vs Shaw In trespass, assault and battery.
This day came the parties aforesaid and by their attorneys and thereupon came a jury to wit: Joseph Kirkpatrick, Greenberry Dorsey, Thomas Lincoln, John Smoot, Conrod Walters, John Alexander, Vincent Dunn, Daniel Wade, Daniel Holman, Samuel Watkins, Samuel Wright and Samuel Larue. . . .

ORDER BOOK, QUARTER SESSION, OCTOBER, 1803, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

13. Order Book, Quarter Session. July Term, 1806, Hardin Circuit Court.
14. Notes, III, 35.

Monday April 25, 1808,
Commonwealth vs John Walters
Thereupon came a jury to wit; Peter Brower, Peter Miller, James Miller, John Miller, Moses Pigg, Thomas Lincoln, Daniel Linder, Richard Parrish, John Stater, William Eglen, John Perron, John Glenn.

ORDER BOOK C, 119, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

Tuesday June 17, 1808,
Thomas Melton vs Michael Barlow
Thereupon came a jury to wit: James Wilson, Lewis Brown,

William Bush, Thomas Lincoln, William D. Stone, James Miller, Hezekiah Smallwood, John Smoot Jr., Job Burris, Jos Kirkpatrick, John Smoot Sr., John Roux.

ORDER BOOK C, 194, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

B. Ogdens for Summons of a jury

Horatio Wade, James Wilmoth, David Vance, John Geoghegan, John Thomas, Joseph Hanks, Robert D. Hatchly, Nathaniel Malone, Thomas Williams, Thomas Lincoln, John Smith, Abraham Lukens.

I Benjamin Ogden Jailor of Hardin County do certify that I summoned the above men as a jury in the case of the Commonwealth against John Allexander at the request of the County Court then acting given under my hand this 15th day of November 1808.

B. OGDEN

JUDGMENTS AND OTHER PAPERS, 1811–1812, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

Wednesday March 15, 1809

Daniel Kennedy vs Tobias Hendricks and Jesse Morgan.

Whereupon came a jury to wit: Isaac Collett, Thomas Lincoln, John Murphy, Jacob VanMatre, Uriah Purtle, Joseph Swank, Jonathan Joseph, Jacob Linder, Alexander Williamson, Jabez Larue, Benj. Wright.

ORDER BOOK C, 277, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

Monday Sept. 2nd. 1811

John Handley vs Charles Stewart

Thereupon came a jury to wit: Anthony Amet, James Purse, James Carter, Jacob LaFollett, William McCallum, Jacob Van Matre, Alex Ashley, Thomas Lincoln, Enos Harned, Joseph Coombs.

ORDER BOOK D, 49, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

Thursday June 11, 1812

Jos. Kirkpatrick vs William Cessna

Thereupon came a jury to wit: Thomas Lincoln, John Smith, Nimrod House, Philip Rogers, John Starr, Isaac Collett, John Austin, John Hodgen, Peter Miller, Asa Kellem, Samuel Pearman, Joseph Thomas. [Same jury served following day. Ed.]

ORDER BOOK D, 188, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

15. Order Book A, 231, Hardin County Court.

16. Order Book B, 13, Hardin County Court.

17. Order Book B, 17, Hardin County Court.

18. Order Book C, 311, Hardin County Court.

19. Order Book, Quarter Session, June 25, 1799, Hardin Circuit Court.

20. Commonwealth vs Mordecai Lincoln

To answer to a presentment of the grand jury exhibited against him for not keeping the road from May's Lick to Chaplin's Fork in repair according to law for which he is appointed overseer.
SUITS FILED IN BOX, JUNE, 1799. WASHINGTON CIRCUIT COURT.

21. Order Book, Quarter Session, B, 309, Hardin Circuit Court.

22. Order Book, September Term, 1786, Nelson County Court.

23. "Louisville Lincoln Loop," by the present author.

24. Road petition from Elizabethtown to Ohio River:

To the worshipful the justices of the County Court of Hardin County. Your petitioners humbly show that they are in great need of a road from the River Ohio to the court house in said county and it is the wish of the petitioners that the road begin a quarter of a mile below the mouth of Flippins Run which place your petitioners think centrical for their neighborhood. Your petitioners further state that a majority of them have from eight to ten miles to travel in going to work on and are obliged to labor under every inconvenience for want of a road themselves; These statements being fairly made we rest it with your Worships. and your Petitioners will ever pray dear.

Solomon Brandenburg, William Kendall, Elijah Allan, Ignatius Able, George Watts, George Rust, Thos. Swain, Aaron Rawlings, Nicholas Miller, John Esary, James Vanwinkle, Henry Ditto Jr., William Vertrees, Thomas Vanver, Jacob Vertrees, John Frakey, Davis Kendall, Davis Gregory, Jarimiah Cruse, David Enlow, Henry Ditto, Isaac Ditto, C—— Rawlings, Jacob Van Matre, Peter Bodine, George Howard, John Howard, Adam Miller, Abner Ashcraft, Abisha Ashcraft, Samuel Berry, Benjamin Berry, Joseph Coombs, John Merrifield, Hardin Thomas, John Johnson, Thomas Lincoln, Steph Rawlings, Benj. Wright, Sam Bush, Ich. Radley, Thomas Rop, Enoch Berry, John Miller.
BUNDLE MARKED ROAD PETITIONS BEFORE 1805, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

25. Collins, Appendix.

26. Notes, I, 1, 14.

27. Notes VII, 12.

28. Notes, VIII, 13.

29. Notes, VII, 19.
30. Notes, VII, 24.
31. Barton, (a), 225.

CHAPTER XIII

1. Fell, Lincoln Autobiography.
2. Will Book A, Hardin County Court.
3. Will Book C, 37, Nelson County Court.
4. Will Book A, Hardin County Court.
5. Warren, Newspaper Files.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Kentucky Legislature, Session 1922.
8. Records of Transylvania Seminary, May Session, 1780.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Elizabethtown Academy Trustees' Book, April 23, 1799.
11. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1799.
12. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1806.
13. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1814.
14. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1806.
15. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1807.
16. *Ibid.*, August 7, 1807.
17. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1806.
18. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1809.
19. Haycraft, 140.
20. Elizabethtown Academy Trustees' Book, August 28. 1816.
21. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1806.
22. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1806.
23. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1820.
24. Haycraft, 141.
25. Collins, Sketch of Duff Green.
26. Miscellaneous Bundle, Hardin County Court.
27. Road Reports, 1800, Hardin County Court.

28. Order Book A, 231, Hardin County Court.
29. "Rolling Fork Echo," Supplement, April 6, 1922.
30. "Larue County News," 1921.
31. Gore, 93.
32. *Ibid.*, 95.
33. *Ibid.*, 95.
34. Lamon, 16.
35. Snider, 36.
36. Webb, 194.
37. Durrett, J. L. Nall letter.
38. Tax Book, 1796, Washington County Court.
39. Riney *vs.* Wathen, March, 1796, Washington Circuit Court.
40. Marriage Bonds, 1824, Washington County Court.
41. Chancery Bundle, June, 1819, Nelson Circuit Court.
42. Riney *vs.* Compton.

Joseph Nevelt and John Dawson to Benedict Compton
3rd day Feb. 1806.

. . . The condition of the above obligation is such that if the above bound Joseph Nevelt and John Dawson or either of them shall sell and hereby convey or cause to be conveyed by general warranty deed 150 acres of land more or less it being all that land that said Joseph Nevelt bought of William and Joseph Hanks lying on the north side of the Rowling Fork between Joseph Adams' line and Thomas Bowling's line and bounded with the river . . .

JOSEPH NEVELT
JOHN DAWSON

Test.
THOMAS SHANKS

Indorsement I:

I hereby convey the written bond to Zachariah Riney for value received as witness my hand and seal this 27th day of November 1811

his
BENEDICT X COMPTON
mark

Test:
JOHN RAY

Indorsement II:

I do hereby acknowledge that I have received full satisfaction for the within bond this 24th day of January 1812.

JOSEPH NEVELT

Test:
JOSEF ADAMS

Indorsement III:

I do hereby assign all my right and interest of the within bond to Zachariah Riney for value received this 12th day of November 1814.
Test.

ROBERT NEVELT

ELEANOR BOLING
her
MARGARET X RINEY
mark

CHANCERY BUNDLE, JUNE, 1819. NELSON CIRCUIT COURT.

43. Riney *vs.* Compton.

Deposition of Joseph Hanks

The deposition of Joseph Hanks taken on the bank of the Ohio River at John Dodson's Ferry in Breckenridge County on the eighth day of March, 1817, to be read as witness in a suit of chancery now pending in the Nelson County Circuit Court and undetermined where Zahariah Riney is complainant, and Jane Nevelt of the heirs of Joseph Nevelt, Mary Ann Compton and Charles Shanks for the heirs of Benedict Compton, defenders.

This deponent, a full agent duly sworn deposeth and saith—That some time in the year 1799 in conversation with Joseph Nevelt concerning the title of a certain tract of land in Nelson County lying on the Rolling Fork about two miles above the mouth of Pottinger's Creek, which land was willed to him, this deponent, by his father Joseph Hanks and then in the possession of said Nevelt, he, this deponent heard Nevelt say that the title of Barnett was not good, but he expected probably he could obtain it but with great difficulty as Barnett had died solvent. This deponent states that the said Nevelt about two years after came to him to purchase his right of the said land and he, this deponent, sold him his good will of it for an old chunk of a horse that would of traded for about fifteen dollars; and further this deponent saith not. Taken and sworn to before me, the subscribed, a Justice of the Peace for Breckenridge County, this 8th day of March 1817.

ARNOLD ELDER, J. P. B. C.

CHANCERY BUNDLE, JUNE, 1819, NELSON CIRCUIT COURT.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Riney *vs.* Wathen, March, 1796, Washington Circuit Court.

46. Lea and Hutchinson, 120.

47. Deed Book 2, 21, Nelson County Court.

48. Order Book, 1789–1781, 2, Nelson County Court.

49. *Ibid.*, 72.

50. Order Book A, 54, Hardin County Court.

51. Riney *vs.* Compton:

Lee to Hanks

Know all men by these presents that I John Lee of Nelson County and State of Virginia am held and firmly bound to Joseph Hanks of the County and State aforesaid in the just and full sum of one hundred pounds good and lawful money of the State aforesaid to the which payment will and truly be made, I bind myself, my heirs and administrators firmly by these presents sealed with my seal dated this 28th day of February 1787.

The condition of this obligation is such that if the above bound John Lee do make to the above named Joseph Hanks, his heirs or assigns, a good and lawful deed in fee simple as soon as a deed can be obtained from Joseph Barnett for the tract whereon the said John Lee now lives to one hundred and fifty acres at the upper end of said tract the line begun at the river at a certain jut above said Lee's fence and to extend out so as to contain said quantity. Then this obligation to be void and of none effect, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue.

his
JOHN X LEE
mark

Sealed and delivered in the presence of
JOHN DAVIS
John McCullam

Indorsement

I do sign over all my right and title of this within bond to William Hanks, whereunto I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 10th day of January one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

JOSEPH X HANKS
—— HANKS

Signed sealed and delivered
in the presence of
CALEB HAZEL
HENRY HALL

CHANCERY BUNDLE, JUNE, 1819, NELSON CIRCUIT COURT.

52. Commonwealth Papers, 1793–1795, Hardin Circuit Court.

53. Order Book A, 111, Hardin County Court.

54. Suter *vs.* Hazel.

Conrod Suter complains of Caleb Hazel in custody, of a plea of covenant broken, for whereas the said Caleb at the parrish of Kentucky and county aforesaid on the 17th of March 1798 by a writing agreementical under the hands of said plaintiff and defendant and Elizabeth Hazel his wife, whereby the said Hazel let the place he then lived upon to said Conrod reserving the orchard field and house the 15th. of July the next ensuing (But the plaintiff avers that there were there other houses and fields on the premises of which the said Conrod was to have immediate possession as well as of the place to let and not accepted by said agreement.) That after the 17th. of March the said Conrod was to have full possession, that the said Conrod rented the place for six years and was to pay 51 dollars per year. But the said Caleb has broken the covenant in this, that after his said agreement he refused complying therewith withholding to let and not excepted, by refusing to give possession thereof, and by not keeping in any manner whatsoever thereof and for which he says he is damaged and therefore he sues.

FELIX GRUNDY L. Pltf.

Other papers filed:

(a) Bond for Hazel signed by Richard Creal.

(b) Summons papers for William Hall, Moses Wright, Doctor Saltsman in behalf of Caleb Hazel.

ORDINARY BUNDLE 5, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT

55. Wade *vs.* Hazel, Equity Bundle 1, Hardin Circuit Court.

56. Deed Book 5, 51, Green County Court.

57. Marriage Register, Hazel and Wright, 1807, Green County Court.

58. South Fork Minute Book, 13.

59. Marriage Register, January 15, 1813. Nelson County Court.

60. *Ibid.*, October 15, 1813.

61. Deed Book, 1, 7, 156.

62. Caleb Hazel Marriage Bond.

Know all men by these presents that we Caleb Hazel and Thomas Lincoln are held and firmly bound unto the Commonwealth of Kentucky in the just and full sum of fifty pounds of United States Currency, which payment will and truly be made and done we bind ourselves our heirs etc. jointly firmly and severally by these presents sealed with our seals and dated this 12th. of October 1816.

The condition of the above obligation is such that if there be no legal cause to obstruct a marriage shortly to be solemnized between the above Caleb Hazel and Miss Mary Stevens for which a license this day was issued then the above obligation to be void, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue in law.

Test. WILLIAM FARLEY

CALEB HAZEL [Seal]
THOMAS LINCOLN [Seal]
MARRIAGE BONDS, 1816, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

63. *Ibid.*

64. *Ibid.*

65. Deed Book 1, 7.

CHAPTER XIV

1. Webb, 27.

2. *Ibid.*, 28.

3. *Ibid.*, 33.

4. *Ibid.*, 27.

5. *Ibid.*, 194.

6. Marriage Register, Nelson County Court.

7. Webb, 167.

8. Order Book, 1791, 11, Nelson County Court.

9. Herndon, 14.
10. Haycraft, 111.
11. *Ibid.*, 112.
12. *Ibid.*, 100.
13. *Ibid.*, 221.
14. Stephenson, 6.
15. Morse, 10.
16. "Lebanon Enterprise," April 8, 1821.
17. Tax Book, 1798, Washington County Court.
18. Order Book, December 5, 1797, Washington County Court.
19. Order Book, February 6, 1798, Washington County Court.
20. "Lebanon Enterprise," May 13, 1921.
21. Commonwealth of Kentucky *vs.* Jesse Head.

The said Jesse Head was guilty on the said third day of February eighteen hundred and three in the circuit aforesaid, of holding two offices to wit: that of Post Master under the authority of the United States, and that of Justice of the Peace of Washington County under the authority of the State of Kentucky. The grand jury found a true bill.

ORDER BOOK 1, 314, WASHINGTON CIRCUIT COURT.

22. Order Book, May 2, 1798, Washington County Court.
23. Order Book, July 1, 1798, Washington County Court.
24. Order Book, April 2, 1799, Washington County Court.
25. Tax Book, 1800, Washington County Court.
26. Order Book, June 10, 1803, Washington County Court.
27. Tax Book, 1803, Washington County court; Tax Books, 1811, 1816, 1821, Mercer County Court.
28. "Lebanon Enterprise," May 13, 1921.
29. Order Book, February 7, 1803, Washington County Court.
30. "The Rise of Methodism in the West," 101.
31. Spencer, 676.

32. Herndon, 11.
33. *Ibid.*, 34.
34. Barton, 38.
35. Spencer, 578.
36. "National Republican," February 12, 1922.
37. Spencer, 176.
38. *Ibid.*, 482.
39. *Ibid.*, 176.
40. *Ibid.*, 645.
41. *Ibid.*, 20.
42. *Ibid.*, 23.
43. Severns Valley Church Record Book, 1778.
44. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1794.
45. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1789.
46. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1789.
47. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1794.
48. Severns Valley Church Record Book, February, 1802.
49. *Ibid.*, August 25, 1792.
50. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1794.
51. *Ibid.*, June, 1794.
52. *Ibid.*, March 22, 1794.
53. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1794.
54. *Ibid.*, February, 1802.
55. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1780.
56. *Ibid.*, May 23, 1795.
57. Spencer, 73.
58. South Fork Church Record Book, 1.
59. *Ibid.*, 4.
60. *Ibid.*, 10.
61. *Ibid.*, 10.
62. *Ibid.*, 12.
63. *Ibid.*, 13, 14.
64. *Ibid.*, 23, 24, 26, 27.

65. *Ibid.*, 32, 51.
66. *Ibid.*, 163.
67. *Ibid.*, 164.
68. *Ibid.*, 163.
69. *Ibid.*, 163.
70. Marriage Register, October 15, 1816. Hardin County Court.
71. Tax Books, 1801, 1805, 1809, 1815, 1842, Green County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
72. Spencer, 336.
73. South Fork Church Record Book, 13.
74. *Ibid.*, 16.
75. Marriage Register, December 20, 1814, Hardin County Court.
76. Deed Book, 9, 401, Green County Court.
77. Spencer, 336.
78. Notes, XIV, 71–77.

CHAPTER XV

1. Miscellaneous Bundle, Nelson Circuit Court.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Haycraft, 74.
4. Order Book B, 290, Hardin County Court.
5. Order Books C, D, E, Hardin County Court.
6. Severns Valley Church Record Book, 1787.
7. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1794.
8. "Kentucky Gazette," July 5, 1788.
9. Order Book B, 158.
10. Bethel Church Record Book, May, 1813.
11. "Kentucky Gazette," August 22, 1789.
12. Deposition of William Duckworth.

The deposition of William Duckworth taken at the house of Alexander Merrifield on the 13th. day of Jan. 1821. . . .

10th. Q. by Deft.—Do you not know that I erected the place on which Pltf. now lives for a stand to keep a public inn and did I not rent it to Sweney and has it not been considered a good stand until lately and is it not now reduced to no stand?

Answer—Yes it was considered a good stand for some time and I believe was.

2nd. Q. by Pltf.—At the time this place was noted for a good stand was there not a ball battery and race paths and did you not understand that I immediately destroyed the battery and race paths much to the advantage of the neighborhood?

Answer—Yes I believe the ball battery was destroyed and the race paths fell into disuse.

WELSH VS. MERRIFIELD, EQUITY BUNDLE 38, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

13. Judgments and Other Papers, 1809–1811, Hardin County Court.

14. Hanks *vs.* Williamson, Ordinary Bundle 45, Hardin Circuit Court.

15. Will Book A, 307, Hardin County Court.

16. "Kentucky Gazette," August 22, 1789.

17. "Kentucky Gazette," November 14, 1799.

18. Elizabethtown Trustees' Minute Book, September, 1809.

19. Elizabethtown Academy Trustees' Book, August 7, 1807.

20. Elizabethtown Trustees' Minute Book, June 14, 1809.

21. Warren, Haycraft & Berry Account Book.

22. Warren, Helm-Haycraft Manuscripts.

CHAPTER XVI

1. "Kentucky Gazette," August 15, 1787.

2. Order Book, December 9, 1788, Nelson County Court.

3. Order Book A, 189, Hardin County Court.

4. Road Petitions Previous to 1805, Hardin County Court.

5. Warren, Old Account Books.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Notes, III, 46.
8. Order Book A, 111, Hardin County Court.
9. Order Book 2, 238, Christian County Court.
10. Order Book 3, 11, Fayette County Court.
11. Order Book B, 168, Hardin County Court.
12. Order Book B, 85, Hardin County Court.
13. Haycraft, 54.
14. Warren, Haycraft-Berry Account Book.
15. Notes, III, 48.
16. Haycraft, 93.
17. *Ibid.*, 92.
18. Warren, Helm-Haycraft Documents.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Notes, III, 48.
21. Index Book, Hardin Circuit Court.
22. Warren, Old Account Books.
23. Notes, III, 48.
24. Warren, Helm-Haycraft Documents.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Notes, III, 48.
27. Tarbell, I, 13.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Warren, Old Account Books.
30. Deed Book 2, 133, Hardin County Court.
31. Welsh *vs.* Merrifield, Equity Bundle 38, Hardin Circuit Court.
32. Order Book B, 57, Hardin County Court.
33. Haycraft, 39.
34. *Ibid.*, 50.
35. *Ibid.*, 152.
36. *Ibid.*, 153.

37. Tax Book, 1813, Hardin County Court.

38. Will Book C. 54–68, Hardin County Court.

39. Order Book, January 2, 1794, Washington County Court.

40. Haycraft-Berry Account Book: Thomas Lincoln accounts, compilation:

July 13, 1796
Thomas Lincoln Dr.
To cash paid him 39/

Sept. 17, 1797
Thomas Lincoln Dr.
To cash paid him 27/

[Note. A part of the page just under the above entry has been cut out. Enough remains to show that it was another Thomas Lincoln entry but the nature of it is not known.]

Sept. 23, 1797
Thomas Lincoln Dr.
By cash paid him 100/

[Note. The following entries are on the closing pages of book under the caption, "Accounts of Race Digging." There are no dates here given, but in all probability it was of a later date than the one above.]

Thomas Lincoln Dr.
By cash paid him 2.15.6

Thomas Lincoln Cr.
To 12½ rods digging at 4/ 2.9.0
To 2 days work 6.

Thomas Lincoln Dr.
To cash paid him 39/

Thomas Lincoln Cr.
To 7½ rods digging in the race 30/
To 3 days work at 3/ per day 9/

Thomas Lincoln
To 2 days work on the dam 6/

Thomas Lincoln
6 rods digging at 5/ 30/
19 dito at 4/ 100/

[Note. In the above entry there is evidence that the 30/ is to be crossed out, and the figure 100/ is reached by adding 6 and 19 at 4/.]

WARREN, HAYCRAFT-BERRY ACCOUNT BOOK.

41. Warren, Barlow-Helm Agreement.

42. Haycraft-Berry Account Book, compilation.

Sundry Accounts in Partnership with G. Berry
By hands working on the mill dam
To Lincoln 3 days, Joshua Haycraft 2 ditto, Henry Hull, October and November 6 ditto, December 4 ditto, to Linder's Harry 3 ditto, To raising the "damm" 15 hands rations and whiskey. To ditto 7 hands rations and whiskey.
Dec. 9th. 5 hands rations and whiskey, Henry Hull paid 3/
Dec. 14th. 22 hands Hull paid 3/ per day for 5 days for working on the dam exclusive of the above.
Dec. 16 & 17 3 hands each day Hull and Fisher 3/ per day
[Note. There is no date to determine the year in the two groups above.]
August and September 1797
James Brooks 6 days working on the dam. Jack 6 days and myself 6 days ditto two days drawing timber. Dan and Mark and also Jack digging 5 rods in the race and 4 days ditto. Brooks 6 days ditto.
In the same month September Brooks, James, Lincoln and myself and Jack one day each Brooks, James and Jack one day each. Brooks, James, Lincoln, VanMatre two days each.
September Jacob VanMater and Mark one day each, Brooks Lincoln, James 5 days each, Jack one day, Abraham VanMatre 2 days
September 12th Brooks, Lincoln, Abe VanMatre and myself 6 days each at the dam. Jacob VanMatre 5½ days. Jack 5 days, 2 days drawing with the horses.
[Note. The records continue from this point for at least two pages, but they have been torn out, and not enough of the writing is left to show what is recorded.]

WARREN, HAYCRAFT-HELM ACCOUNT BOOK.

43. Account Books compilation.

Feb. 23rd. 1796
Hannaniah Lincoln Dr.
To spa. 3 witnesses on suit of Welsh 3/9
May 27, 1797
John Berry
By Jack working 4 days at 3/ 12/
By 1 day plowing 6/

July 6th. 1798
Isaac Emly Dr.

To cash paid at sundry times	51/
To 1 deer skin	7/6
To pair of shoes	10/6
To 6¾ yds of linen at 3/	20/3
	49·3

July . . . 1798
Isaac Emly Cr.

To breaking 320 lbs. flax at 6/	19/
To 13 days work at 3/	39/
To 360 "Rales" at 3/	10/10
To Clearing Land	24/
	£4.2.

July . . . 1798
Isaac Emly Cr.

To 2 days mowing at 4/	8/

John Berry Dr.

To one pair of silver spurs	54/

Isaac McNamee

To 3 bushels of wheat at 4/ (Dr)	12/
To 2 days reaping at 4/ (Cr)	8/
To 1 days quarrying stone "	3/
To hewing logs "	60/
To 3 bushels corn (Dr)	6/

Nov. 1798
Isaac Emly Dr.

To 2 pr. stockings at 4/6	9/

John Berry Dr.

To 180 lb. beef at 18/	33/

James Crutcher Dr.

To 12 lbs. cheese at /9	9/

William Kelso Dr.

To 200 lbs hay at 2/6	5/
To 190 lbs hay at 3/	4/6

WARREN, OLD ACCOUNT BOOKS.

44. Notes, XVI, 40.
45. *Ibid.*, 43.
46. *Ibid.*, 43.
47. *Ibid.*, 42.

CHAPTER XVII

1. Lincoln's Trenton address.
2. Hitchcock, 69.
3. Collins, 367.
4. Will Book C, 350.
5. Draper, George Rogers Clark Manuscripts, V, 38.
6. Election Book, Hardin County Court.
7. Letter to Samuel Haycraft, May 28, 1860.
8. *Ibid.*, June 4, 1860.
9. *Ibid.*, August 16, 1860.
10. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1860.
11. "Louisville Daily Journal," December 7, 1864.

CHAPTER XVIII

1. Tax List, 1801, Fayette County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
2. "Lincoln Family in Tennessee," J. D. Jenkins, "New York Times," 1924.
3. Tax Book, 1803, Washington County Court.
4. Notes, XVI, 42.
5. Deed Book D, 343, Woodford County Court.
6. Will Book B, 189, Woodford County Court.
7. Tax Book, 1802, Woodford County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
8. Tax Books, 1792, 1820, Clark County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
9. Tax Book, 1806, Washington County Section, Kentucky Historical Society.
10. Severns Valley Church Record Book, June 23, 1787.

11. Spencer, 163.
12. Severns Valley Church Record Book, January 25, 1795.
13. Spencer, 163.
14. *Ibid.*, 162.
15. Severns Valley Church Record Book, July 23, 1796.
16. South Fork Church Record Book, December 4, 1812.
17. Lamon, 37.
18. Compilation by editor.

Total Blacks listed in tax books, 1811 to 1816:

1811–1007; 1812–1021; 1813–1205; 1814–1110; 1815–1180; 1816–1238. (The formation of new counties out of the original boundaries is responsible for the lack of apparent increase in the number of blacks at this time.)

TAX BOOKS, HARDIN COUNTY COURT.

19. Tax Books, Micham Paul, 1811, Hardin County Court.
20. Murr's "Lincoln," "Indiana Magazine of History," June, 1818.
21. Lincoln *vs.* Bush, cross-bill.

Thomas Lincoln in the Cross Bill against Bush whom he makes defendant to this bill states that in the year 1807 or 1808 he gave $200. for the land in his answer mentioned, and prays that Bush may be compelled to answer and say whether or not he did not pay him the above mentioned sum of two hundred dollars. He prays for judgment for the above sum and his costs as before and would ever pray.

R. RUDD

Indorsements:

(a) Nelson County Court. This day Thomas Lincoln came before me and made oath the statements within made are true. Given under my hand this 11th. Nov. 1816.

SAM'L CARPENTER
Justice of the Peace for Nelson Co.

(b) N.B. Lincoln has deposited in my hand $.50 to pay the printer.
(c) 1817 Jan. 21st. filed. SAM HAYCRAFT.

MATHER VS. VANCE, EQUITY BUNDLE 24, HARDIN CIRCUIT COURT.

22. Gore, preface.
23. Notes, X, 17.
24. Notes, VII, 24, exhibit 3.
25. Murr's "Lincoln," "Indiana Magazine of History," June, 1818.
26. Thayer, 72.
27. Durrett, affidavit of C. C. Graham.
28. Thayer, 8.
29. Nicolay and Hay, 29.
30. Gore, 312.
31. Tax Book, 1816, Hardin County Court.
32. Notes, XII, 24.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Any attempt to tabulate the manuscripts read and copied in preparing this volume would approach the impossible. Four collections should be mentioned as having supplied valuable data for this effort.

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Kentucky,	Kentucky State Historical Society Collection, Old State House, Frankfort, Kentucky
Warren,	Helm-Haycraft Manuscripts and Miscellaneous Papers, Library of the author, Zionsville, Indiana

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